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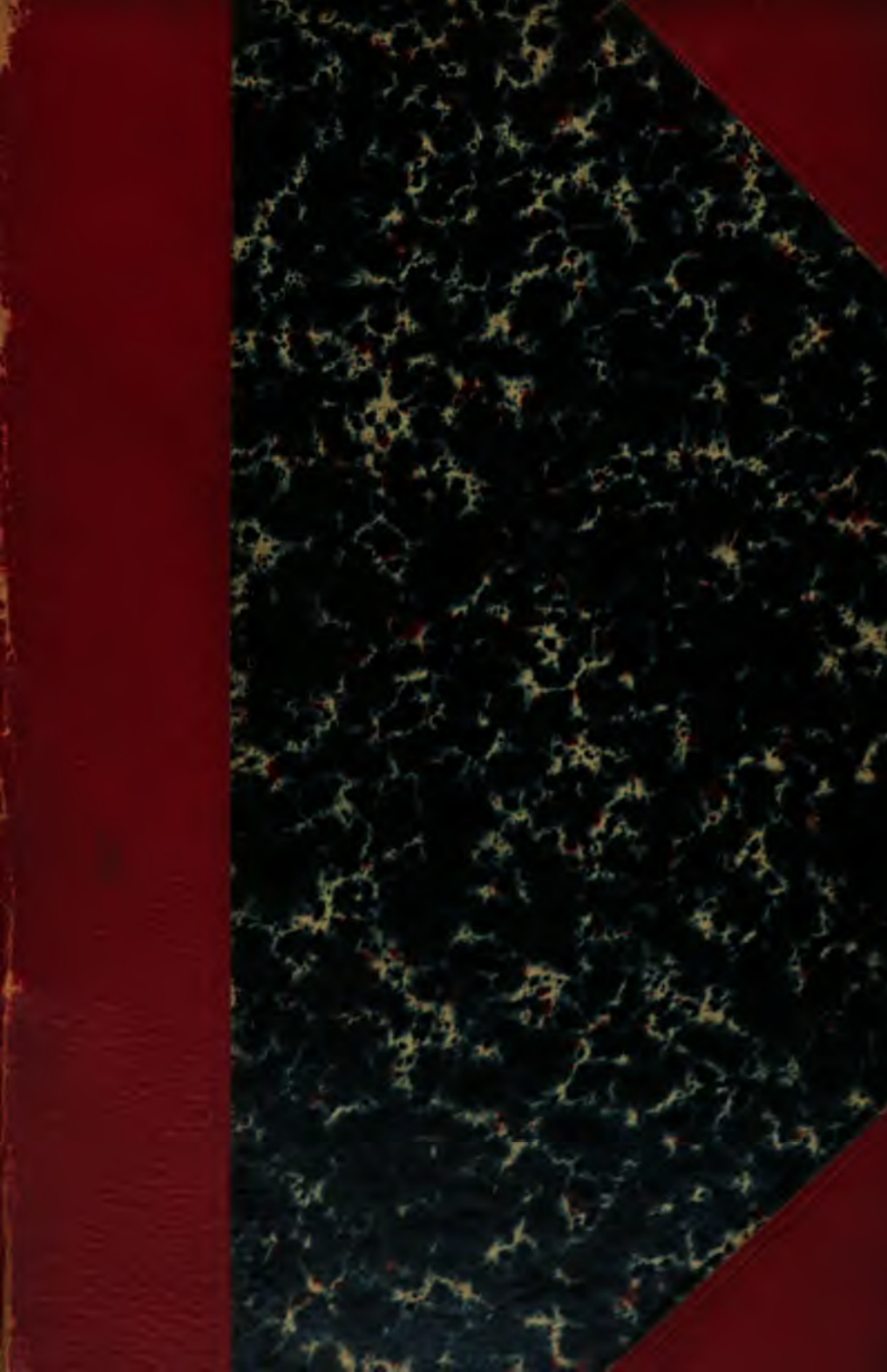
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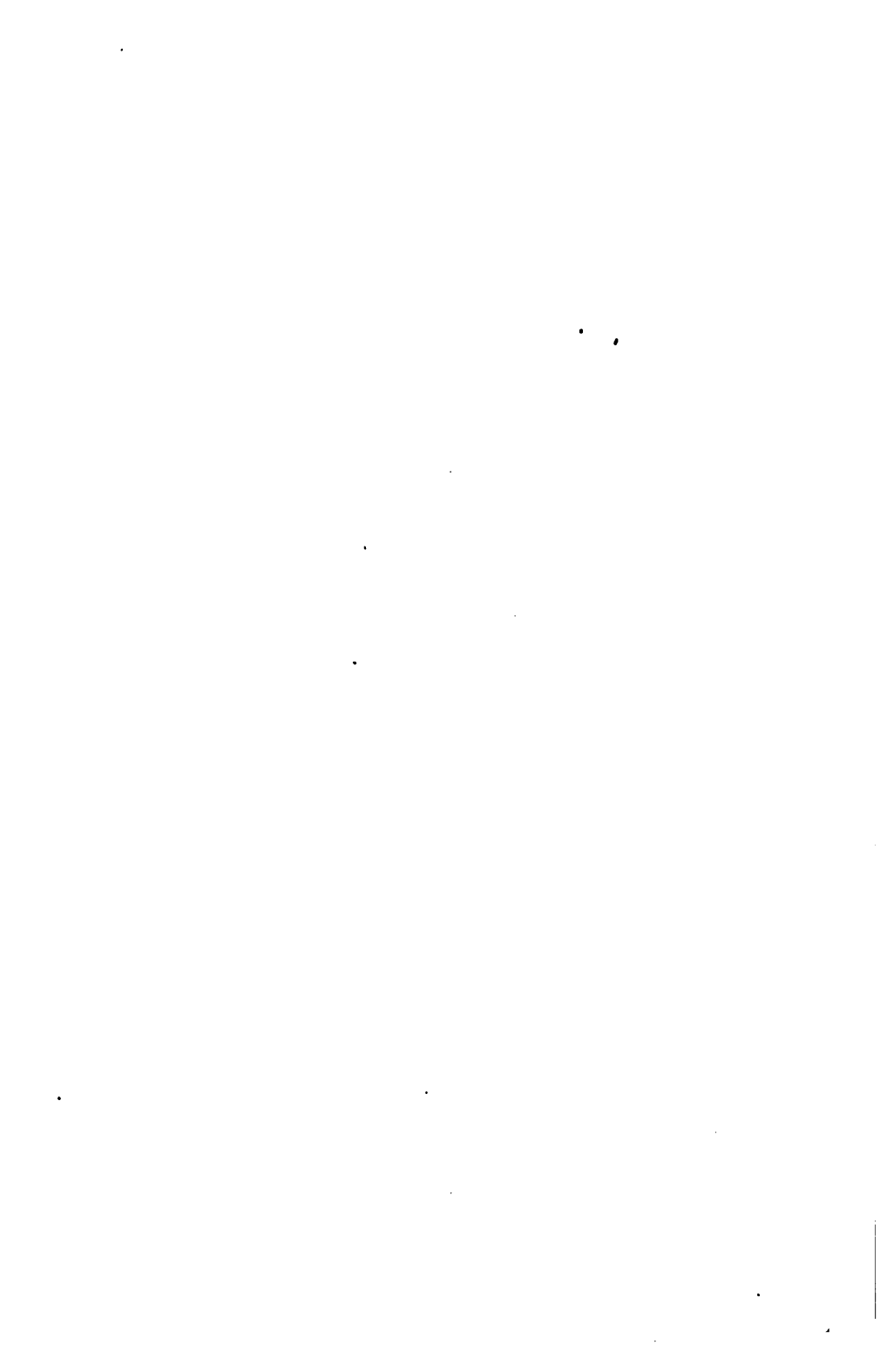
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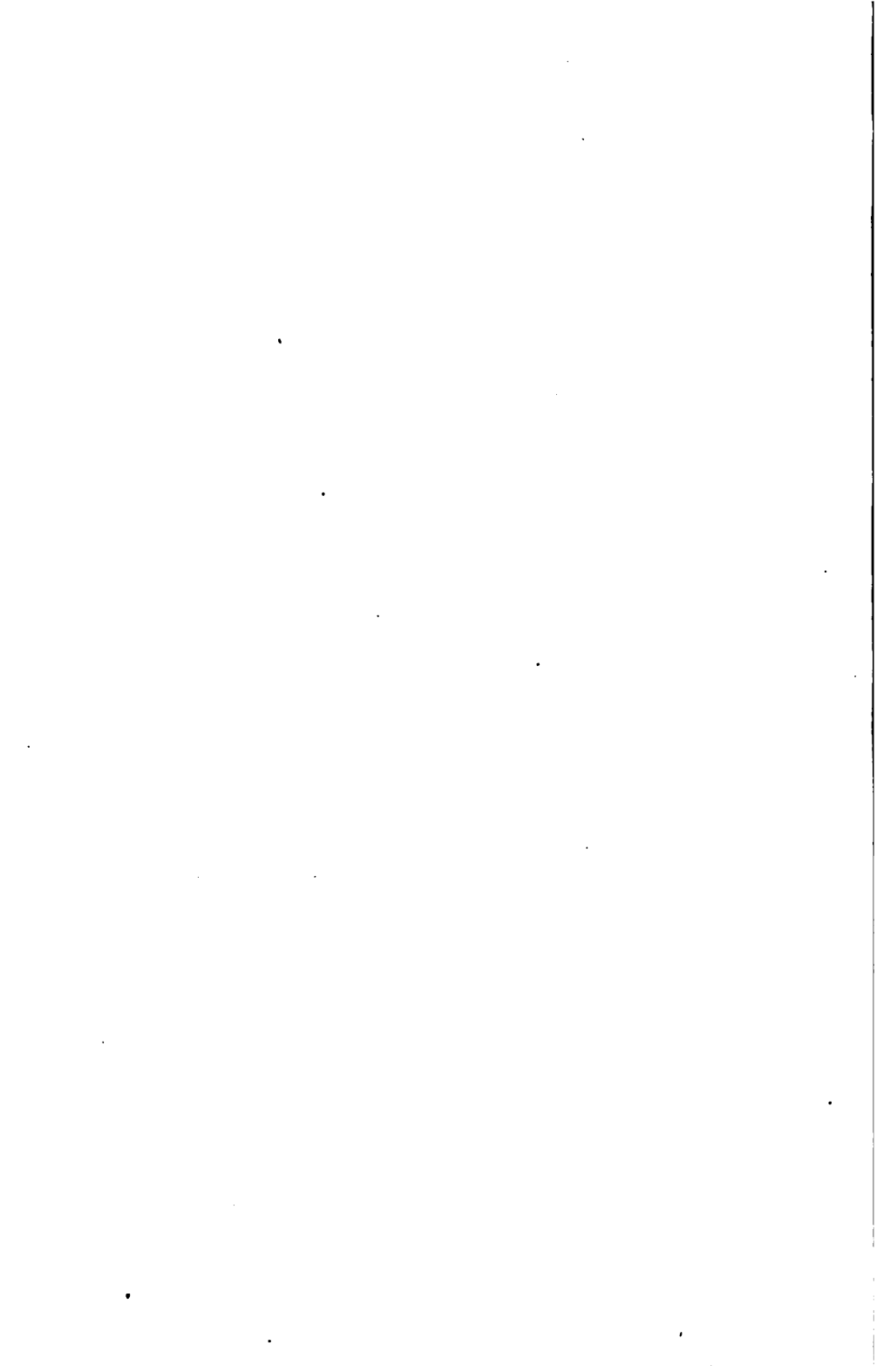
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AT THE SPRING OF THE WATERS.¹

"He went forth unto the spring of the waters, and cast the salt in there."
—2 KINGS ii. 21.

"THE spirit of Elijah," they said, "does rest on Elisha"—and it was true. Yet who is not struck with the difference, with the contrariety, between them? And who does not trace in this contrast the manifoldness, the flexibility, the appropriateness too, of God's working, as the Book of God has delineated, as the Church of God has exemplified, it?

At first sight the succession is a deterioration. The glow, the rush, the genius, the inspiration, the awe, the prowess, seems to have died with the Master. The inhabitant of the desert, the man of mystery and apparition, the "enemy" of kings, the slayer of false prophets, the reformer and iconoclast, is gone—the departure of one piece with the life—wind and fire ministering still and bearing away from earth, in confessed yet glorious failure, the man of whom earth had shown itself unworthy. There remains a man—a dweller in cities and houses—living the common life, "eating and drinking with princes and neighbours, presiding over educational homes, the counsellor of his countrymen in peril, their comforter in trouble, their referee in controversy, their powerful mediator, their self-forgetting friend." Viewed in one aspect, no position can ever have been more level, no work more human, no office less heroic. Yet it is upon this life that "a double portion "

¹ This sermon, which is not included in Dean Vaughan's published volumes, we owe to the kindness of Mr. G. W. E. Russell, who recovered the copy.
—ED. EXPOSITOR.

of Elijah's spirit rested. The disciples' life, not the Master's, was the "shadow cast before" of a Life above man's. If the Baptist came in the "spirit and power of Elias," it was "Eliseus the prophet" who dimly prefigured Christ. The very record of Elijah's history should have prepared us for this juster estimate. In the great vision of Horeb—the second proclamation on that spot of the "glory" which is "the name of the Lord"—it was not in the wind, it was not in the fire, it was not in the earthquake,—it was in the "still small voice" that the Real Presence, the very Deity, was manifested to the longing and fainting spirit. It is so everywhere and in all times. Influence ranks essentially above power, and tranquility is evermore a condition of grace. It is one of the high objects of Scripture to correct man's judgments upon insignificance and greatness. When Elisha follows Elijah, the passing generation counts it a descent and a decline—looks back with regret to the stormier scenes amid which, and the grander agencies in which, the prophet of the past exercised his ministry—and returns with disaffection, almost with complaining, to the human, the common, the neighbourly life, which is all that remains to it of a predecessor's magnificence. And yet all the time, just because the second life is human, touches our own at all points, and is exercised not in great matters which are "too high for us," but in a contact and a converse which "refrains and keeps it low"—it is the truer and the more Christlike and the more Godlike of the two. And it is in the discernment of a Divine Hand in those transitions, from a past to which "distance lends enchantment," to a present in which there are no illusions, that a large part of earth's trial, probation and discipline lies for some of the Church's noblest spirits, to whom the old is consecrated by pious association and the new comes harsh and bleak and unlovely for the lack of it. Yet God is in each age as it

comes, and the dweller in the age that is not must miss Him.

The very incident from which the text is taken marks the parallelism to which we have here adverted. The Baptist has his type in Elijah. Elisha typifies Christ. The first and the characteristic miracle of Elisha bears a striking resemblance to the first and representative miracle of the Saviour. The gracious interposition to heal the diseased waters of Jericho, what was it but the faint anticipation and foreshadowing of the scene presented to us in one of this day's select scriptures—the Marriage Feast in Cana? The same sympathy with the discomforts and inconveniences of outward circumstance, the same application of superhuman strength to human need—but far more than this—the same parable in act, of the transforming power of grace—the same control and counteraction of the deep-seated malady of fallen humanity—the bringing back God into God's handiwork—the impregnating and saturating of man's life with an Influence and a Presence lost once and forfeited by sin. There is one point peculiar to this parable, and that is the stress laid upon *the Spring of the Waters*. "The water is naught and the ground barren." Man, then, might have been satisfied to deal with the symptoms, with the stream and with the ground, but God's prophet goes to the spring of the waters and casts the healing salt in there. There must be a "new cruse"—something with which man has not intermeddled—that is one necessity—and then the casting-in must be at the spring—at the source—if God is, as the prophet here reports Him, to say, "I have healed these waters." When the miracle is thus interpreted into parable, as all miracles are interpreted, we see how infinite may be its applications. It is the parable of Thoroughness. It bids go to the spring of our disease and never rest until the antidote is at work there. It would have us look in all our life—the national,

the ecclesiastical, the educational, as well as the personal—first for the salt and then for the spring; so that, the water being healed at the source, the issue may no longer be death and barrenness. I will venture, with all possible deference to an auditory which no minister—least of all a stranger—ought to approach without reverence, to suggest a few thoughts suitable (God grant it) to this particular congregation; not presuming to dwell upon matters which belong properly to those who are charged with the oversight of this illustrious University, but confining myself to topics with which a prolonged experience in school and parish may be supposed to have made me in some degree familiar. And yet it would be affectation if I spoke to you but for once—probably it will be but for once—as though you had no distinctive corporate life, big with consequences to the State and the Church of England. I cannot but feel, as I stand in this pulpit, that there is a sense in which we are here at the very spring and source of the life-waters of our country. Where, but here and at Cambridge, can you find gathered at one point so vigorous, so vivid a vitality? Oh, if from this fountain-head there should go forth either death or barrenness! Oh, if Oxford should ever, in any smallest degree, forget her mission either to the homes, or to the studies, or to the parishes, or to the mission-fields of this nation! Oh, if a lethargy either of faith or of zeal should benumb and paralyze that spiritual life which ought to be the salt and the light of the world! Forgive the terrible misgiving—it is prevalent, you know it, in the hearts of thousands of Christian people—that there is some decay in our Colleges and in our Universities of that earnest, that devout self-addiction to the service of Christ, in the service of his people, which once quickened into spiritual fire a languid and formal and lifeless Christianity. It is not to foster pride—it is rather the deepest lesson of humility—to count over one with another and in the sight of God the peculiar,

the incommunicable talents with which He has charged an English University. The measure of the gift is the measure of the responsibility. "Give an account of thy stewardship" rings already in the ears of the privileged. It is an error to suppose that the opportunities of a University are all intellectual. It is true that a neglect of these can scarcely co-exist with fidelity to any other. It is true that where Learning is the business of the place, Religion herself must take her flight with it. It is true that idleness of mind and thought is commonly found in closest conjunction, not with frivolity alone, but with sin. It is true also that no diligence in bodily exercise can be accepted as any sufficient apology for indolence in that higher thing which is the profession, and therefore the duty, of an Educational Home. Enough, I think, and too much—in these times so full of anxiety and of peril for the highest interests of classes and nations—enough, and too much, I say, have we heard of those athletic distinctions which lose their justification when they cease to be secondary. We are in danger of inverting once again—as in days when we were schoolboys—the divinely-ordered climax of Body and Soul and Spirit. Think not that, in so speaking, we make Intellect or even Soul everything. We deeply feel the blessings of a University life to those who are neither to be the scholars nor the clergymen of their generation. More intimately still do those blessings enter into the formation of character and into the regulation of Society. If ever the day should arrive when any one profession or any one rank were wholly cut off from connexion with our two Universities, the injury would be deep, if not fatal, on the one side as much as on the other. The mutual influences of the University and the world are indispensable to the true welfare of either.

Yet there are ways in which the importance, and therefore the responsibility, of the University is more definite

and therefore more appreciable. Foremost among them we must place that which affects the future teachers of England, those who are to be, at home and abroad, the Pastors and Evangelists of the Church. If there is an art in these matters, which must be sought elsewhere, at least the science of the ministry must be acquired here. No Theological College, no special influence of an individual theologian, can supply the place of a University training in reference to the acquisition of knowledge, and still more the discipline of thought. Here there is everything to make our clergy, not learned only, but wise, if there be but the faithful use (on both sides) of opportunities absolutely innumerable. Here may theology be studied, apart from cramping and narrowing influences—studied as the crown of all sciences, and the key to all mysteries. The divorce of theology from our Universities would be its condemnation as the reverence of the wise and the influence of the people. No multiplication of avenues to the Pastorate can compare, in true value, with the enlargement of this one avenue in its accessibility to the many. Let Oxford and Cambridge open themselves generously to the poor and to the self-taught; and then let the Bishops more and more make this the one gate and the one vestibule.

Let us not plead, in excuse for indolence or inefficiency in this behalf, any statutory or legislative changes, whether past or possible. No change in the past has in reality robbed the Universities of their religious aim and character. It takes more than legislation to do this. Legislation itself has recognized religion (in general terms at least) as the aim of our academical teaching. Legislation has gagged no man's mouth in the liberty to teach truth—which is to teach Christ—to our students. While it has opened the gate to all comers, it has closed it against none. It has not made it penal for a Professor of Theology to communicate a distinctive theology to his disciples. No man can plead that

he is debarred from any influence that his Christian faith or his Christian learning ever enabled him to exercise over his academical sons or brothers. Surely this is something. Surely no man who reflects deeply and speaks advisedly can account for an imputed degeneracy in religious things by charging Acts of Parliament with his crime.

Brethren, the salt which is to heal death and barrenness is nothing external—nothing which Council or Legislature can either create or annul. You know well enough what it is which has been the influence upon you. It has been individual. It has been personal. It has been a life. It has been an example. It has been a voice. It has been a soul. These influences come and go—sometimes they seem to be gone, to have perished, for a generation, for an age. But lay not the blame on that which is like the dumb stone, and has no breath in its mouth. Lay the blame on men, not on things. Nay, take the blame, and lay it not! It is for want of something in us—who shall not say, it is for want of something in me?—if the two springs of perennial life bubble forth only death and barrenness. Let the old Faith spring in us into newness of reality, into freshness of meaning, into revival of strength and grace—and, depend upon it, we shall be influences, we shall be powers, towards them that dwell with us and hearken to our words.

Let us remember, not least, that there is a special peril, in these centres of light, of hiding the candle of faith under the bushel of a not ignoble, yet most un-Christlike, dissimulation. Where the hypocrisy of feigning is most hateful, there the hypocrisy of disguising is most attractive. There are men dwelling amongst us in whose souls the Faith is precious above gold and costly pearl. Yet they are so afraid of the charge, or (be it so) the reality, of exaggeration, of inconsistency, of talk without doing, that they habitually dissemble the thing actually felt. There is an hypocrisy of unbelief about them, lest there should be an hypocrisy of

believing. The consequence is, that their influence is lost in behalf of Christ, if it be not intentionally exercised against Him. I speak that which I know, when I urge this audience to a plainer, a more thoughtful, and a more manly dealing. I speak to the covert believer—to the man, and he is one of a multitude amongst us, who does pray, does communicate, does mean, in the general purpose of his heart, to live and to die a Christian—but who never says one word openly, nor can bear the imputation of doing so, to make the light shine upon another, or to glorify by this reflexion his Father in Heaven.

“He went forth unto the spring of the waters.” If there is a sense in which Oxford is this to England, certainly there is a sense in which Oxford life is this to you. What is it which gives its real dignity, its real interest, its real pathos, to a scene like this? Is it not the knowledge that “we stand here by the well” of a thousand lives—that here, and not elsewhere, is the bounding-up of that spring, of which the stream is to be the life of Time, and the ocean the life of Eternity?

There are two aspects of our earthly being, each impressive, each admonitory. The one is that which represents it as a multitude, the other that which represents it as a unit. The one bids us to “number” our days—to make each a little life—to feel how many they are, and how God has made each one both complete, and capacious, and responsible. This is that Scriptural figure of the “walk,” for which the inmate of the home starts each morning, and from which he returns at evening to his rest and to his dwelling. This is that view of life which is good for the Christian man—“walking in the fear of the Lord and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost”—fearing no evil, because “his time is in God’s hands,” and he is dwelling, every moment of it, in the sweet sunshine of His countenance. To walk before God in holiness and righteousness all the

days till their change come—this is the heritage of God's servants, and it is their sufficient ambition to possess it. But the Word which speaks not in vain, and multiplies not figures in superfluity, has another metaphor for life, which calls it not a "walk" but a "journey." From the birth to the death there is movement—there is progression—some- whence and somewhither. There is no returning at night-fall to the quarters left at the sun-rising. The life is making for a terminus and a destination—it has a plan, conscious or unconscious; it has a scheme and a system known to itself or unknown; it is not a multitude of lives, it is one life; God sees it as a whole—God can write its epitaph—"He did good or he did evil"—not both; and it needs but to inscribe the name, and the father's name, and the length of the course, and the place of the burial.

The life is a unit-life, and this is what gives significance, gives solemnity to its starting. We are here at "the spring of the waters"; and here, therefore, must a more than prophet's hand cast in the salt.

There are countries, I believe, in which the criminal code fixes the definite age of five-and-forty as that which closes the hope of repentance and reformation. After that date no prison-door opens for the man who has sinned away the season of elasticity and of hope. It is a harsh, it is a rigid, it is a human, it is no Divine, estimate of the possibilities of grace. Yet how plaintive an echo sounds from older hearts to the sad, the dreary, the disconsolate testimony! Oh, these lives, protracted already, so many, beyond the forty-five and fifty years, how monotonous are they! how uniform, and of one texture and colour, in reference to God and the soul! How often, when we thought an onward step taken, when we even dreamed of a change and a conversion, have we slipped back again to where we were. Awakened from the dream of eating, the soul still (in Isaiah's figure) is hungry and hath appetite! The life is a unit-life, not

least in things spiritual. Look back into the furthest background of memory—are you not much what you were? Was the childhood very unlike the boyhood, the youth very unlike the full age, in reference to your state before God, in reference to your interest in Christ and His salvation? The continuity is not broken; you are one, not many, alike in mind and heart and soul.

It is this experience which makes the eye tearful, and the soul grave even to depression, when we stand at what is still, for other lives, “the spring of the waters.” We know, we have said, that even youth is not the spring. There is a childhood, there is a boyhood beneath it, which is still tingeing and discolouring and embittering the up-leaping waters. But there is this to justify the application—and we pray you, young brothers, to give heed to it; there is a continuity, there is a unity, in each life; but it may be, once at least (it is enough here to say once), sharply, decisively, splendidly broken. We enter into no mysticism, we trench upon no disputed ground between school and school, between party and party, between Church and Church, when we recognize as a fact and as a phenomenon the possibility, proved in thousands of instances, of a new life in the soul. Call it by what name you will, provided that you mean by it this—a change, heart-deep and therefore life-wide, such as brings God into everything, as a Father, a Saviour, and a Sanctifier.

This change may be swift, or it may be gradual, may be due to many influences, some of them far back in the past, some of them undefined, and even unconscious; it has so many varieties as exist in the resources of a God Whose way is in the great waters, and Whose footsteps are not seen. But experience has shown that the point of life at which my younger hearers stand to-day is the point most favourable, most hopeful, in regard to the experience on which we dwell. The piety of childhood is beautiful, but proverbially

evanescent. There must be (if the word "must" have place in things Divine) some knowledge of good and evil, some acquaintance with sorrow and sin, some practical proof of the weakness of resolution, some protracted search of the soul after a still unrealized strength, before the helm of the being is finally set Heavenward—before a man can echo the Samaritan testimony, "Now I believe, not because of Thy saying: for I have heard for myself and know."

In this place, at this hour, we stand at the spring of the waters, and would help you, God helping us, to cast in the healing salt there. Be not satisfied to deal with particulars of conduct or habit. When God says, "I have healed these waters," He has gone to the spring. To purify the stream is impossible, but for this. When once "the water is naught and the ground barren," the remedy must be sought higher up. It is a true parable. "Death and barrenness" are the twin curses of the corrupted life-spring. You find every day—in your moments of reflection you regret it—that your influence, do what you will, is either negative or else injurious, upon those with whom you dwell. You find that you do not elevate, you do not lift the life of your dearest friend. And yet you wish him well; his interests are dear to you; you would not harm him nor see him harmed for the world. You feel it in other things. You would be diligent and purpose-like and exemplary. You would not sin. You have a thousand motives for being a good man. Your fall, your disgrace, your ruin, would break the very heart of your home. Yet unawares, under influence, through mere thoughtlessness, for want of one grain of firmness, you have wasted your time, you have failed in your examination, you have run into debt, you have secrets which you cannot tell, your life is a spoilt life, you talk sometimes as if you wished it gone. "Death," literal death, has sometimes been the stream from this spring. "Barrenness," I need not say, is

its fertility. Must it, must it go on thus, and thus end? Shall twenty years, of which half went without reckoning in the irresponsibility of a home, give its stamp to a life? Is there no way of breaking this dead-level unity, this miserable continuity of a good-for-nothing course?

There is. This is the very Gospel which Christ brought from Heaven, and it has been already the life of a world. The Gospel of a free forgiveness for the sake of a dying, living Lord—the Gospel of a Divine strength given in the Person of an indwelling Spirit—these two, knit into one by the all-embracing revelation of a God, sinned against and trifled with, yet a Father—this is the healing “salt,” this is the life-giving Life, for the sake of which Christ came and suffered and died and rose.

At “the spring of the waters” cast this salt in. Go apart with your God this night, and, in words few and simple, call Him in to your soul. Not all at once may you feel the fulness of the healing; not all at once is sin dethroned and executed in any man. Yet from that act of holy communing and converse with the Invisible, you shall come forth, if you will, an altered man. New powers shall begin to work in you—new hopes, new energies, and new affections. This day shall be to you the beginning of days—it shall be the first day to you of an everlasting year. “He went forth unto the spring of the waters, and cast the salt in there” . . . And the Lord said, “I have healed these waters; there shall not be from thence any more death or barren land.”

C. J. VAUGHAN.

A PURITAN AND A BROAD CHURCHMAN IN THE SECOND CENTURY.

I PROCEED now to give a brief survey of Clement's extant writings, and will thus illustrate those points which bear on my subject, concluding with testimonies to the value of his work both from Romanist and Protestant sources.

Like Justin Martyr, and like Augustine, Clement passed through philosophy to the Gospel. Augustine tells us (*Conf.* iii. 4) that it was the *Hortensius* of Cicero which first changed his thoughts, and turned his affections to God. Clement generalizes this experience. "It was his favourite idea," says Neander (ii. 273), "that the Divine plan for the education of mankind constituted a great whole, the end of which was Christianity." Within this plan were included God's dealings not merely with the Jews, but also with the heathen. Thus we read (*Str.* i. c. 4): "The fact that all science and art and skilful inventions come from God is evident from what we are told of Bezaleel in Exodus xxxi., where it is said that God filled him with wisdom to devise and execute in all manner of work. With reason, therefore, has the Apostle called the wisdom of God manifold, seeing that it has manifested itself in many departments and in many modes for our benefit." (*Str.* i. c. 9, p. 342, quoted with approval by Cardinal Wiseman.) Some persons, having a high opinion of their own good dispositions, will not apply themselves to philosophy or dialectics, nor even to natural philosophy, but wish to possess faith by itself alone; as reasonably might they expect to gather grapes from a vine which they have left uncultivated. On the contrary, we know that we must prune and dig and bind, and do all necessary labour, if the vine is to be fruitful. So is it with religious progress. Every movement to that which is good comes from God, who employs as His organs

those who are best fitted to instruct mankind. Such were the better sort of Greek philosophers. The philosophy which forms men to virtue cannot be a work of evil originated by Satan, as some think; no, it is the gift of that Providence which bestows on each what it is fitting that he should receive (*Str.* vi. 822). Philosophy was to the Greeks what the Law was to Jews, the schoolmaster to prepare them for Christ; and it is still useful in the service of piety as a help to set forth the evidence of the faith (*Str.* i. 331 foll.). We cannot now rely on the miraculous help of the Holy Spirit like the prophets of old. If we would bring out the meaning of Scripture, and understand and explain the articles of our faith, and guard against erroneous teaching, it is necessary that we should have passed through a training in philosophy (*Str.* i. 342). There is a remarkable passage in *Str.* vi. § 45, where the preaching in Hades is said to have extended, "not only to those who perished in the flood, but to those among the Gentile philosophers, who had fallen short of perfection and had afterwards repented in another place (*καὶ ἐν ἄλλῃ τὸν πρὸς τὴν τύχῃ*); seeing that it was befitting the Divine economy that those who were confessedly *ἐν τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ* should be saved, each one according to his individual knowledge."

It was natural that such thoughts should suggest themselves to Clement, as a lecturer in the Alexandrian school, for Alexandria was at that time the centre of philosophical and theological speculation. It was there that Philo had promulgated his epoch-making system of Hellenistic Judaism. It was there that the leading Gnostics—Basilides, Valentinus, and others had lived and taught. It was there that Paganism was preparing to put forth its last effort to rival Christianity in the neo-Platonism of Plotinus, himself, according to some, a fellow pupil of Origen. Clement's own ideas, as to what was required from a teacher in a school which was attended not only by Christians thirsting

for a scientific exposition of the faith, but also by educated Pagans, who were still hesitating as to whether they should join the Church, are expressed in the following words (*Str.* vi. 784): "He who would gather from every quarter what would be for the profit of the catechumens, must not shrink from deep and wide study; for the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof. All culture is profitable; above all, the study of Holy Scripture, to enable us to prove what we teach, especially when our hearers come to us from the discipline of the Greeks."

The extant works of Clement (beyond one sermon and a few fragments) form a single series containing three parts, which we may call the Preacher, the Tutor, and the Miscellanies, intended to exhibit the three steps of initiation into the wisdom of the perfect Christian. The first is addressed to pagans, the second to catechumens, the third is intended to stir up the baptized members of the Church to aim at growth in grace and fuller knowledge of God. They exhibit an extraordinary acquaintance with Greek poetry and philosophy, and also with the Scriptures. Of non-Christian authors perhaps Philo is the one by whom Clement is most influenced. The use of the term *Λόγος* to express the Divinity, working in the world of nature and of man, pervades the writings of Clement as of Philo, but its meaning is supplemented and intensified by St. John's conception of the "Word made flesh." It is the Word who invites the heathen in the Preacher, who trains the catechumens in the Tutor, who instructs the Gnostic, i.e. the enlightened Christian in higher truth in the Miscellanies.

The first treatise resembles other apologies in pointing out the follies and the immoralities of the Greek religion; but what I think is peculiar to it is the warmth of affection, the earnest enthusiasm with which he presses his hearers to become followers of Christ. It begins with a comparison, with which we are familiar from the paintings in the cata-

combs, of our Lord drawing all men to Himself, as Orpheus attracted the wild animals by the sound of his lyre. "The Word by whom all things were made, who in the beginning gave us life as our Maker, now appears as our Teacher. *He* is made *man* that we may learn from Him how *man* may become *God*."

I add, in a simplified and shortened form, a few extracts from Kaye's epitome of this treatise. "God speaks to us, not as a master to his servants, but as a father to his children." "The Word is a common light, shining on all. Let us hasten to the Regeneration which unites all in one." "Man is born to hold intercourse with God. As we apply animals to the uses for which they were naturally designed, so we invite man, who was made for the contemplation of heaven, who is indeed a heavenly plant, to the knowledge of God." "All things have become light, never again to set. For the Sun of Righteousness comes alike to all mankind, imitating the Father, who causes His sun to rise, and the dew of truth to fall upon all men. He has changed the setting to the rising, and, crucifying death, has raised up life, transplanting corruption into incorruption, and converting earth into heaven." "He, the eternal Jesus, the one great High Priest, prays for men and exhorts men. Hearken, He says, all ye who are endowed with reason. I call the whole human race, whose Creator I am by the will of the Father; I freely give you the Word, the knowledge of God, I freely give you my whole Self; I will anoint you with the ointment of faith, through which you cast off corruption. I will show you the naked form of righteousness, through which you ascend to God. Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. This is the counsel of the Word, not to hesitate whether it is better to be sane or insane, but laying fast hold on the truth, to follow God with all our might. If friends have all things in common, and man is the friend of God (and he is

the friend through the mediation of the Word), all things belong to man, because all things belong to God ; and all things are common to both the friends—God and man.”¹

The relation between the first and the second treatise is given in the following passage: “When the Heavenly Guide, the Word, calls men to salvation, the name of Preacher is that which peculiarly belongs to him ; when He acts the part of physician and trainer, we speak of Him as the Tutor, His object being then practical, to point the way to soberness of living, and hold up examples of conduct.” He addresses his hearers as having been released from the chains of their old sins in baptism, through faith on the part of man, and grace on the part of God.² They have learnt the truth of Christ’s word, “He who heareth My words, and believeth in Him that sent Me, hath eternal life, and has passed from death into life?” He goes on to say that Christ revealed Himself as Tutor to Israel in the old dispensation. It was He who appeared to Abraham, who wrestled with Jacob, who led His people through the wilderness by the hand of Moses. The Tutor adopts at different times different measures for the benefit of his children. He admonishes, He reproves, He rebukes, He convinces, He threatens, He heals, He promises, He freely gives. They who are sick need a Saviour, they who have wandered, a guide, they who are blind, one to give them light, they who thirst, the Living Fountain, of which he who drinks shall thirst no more. The dead need life, the sheep a shepherd ; all mankind need Jesus. If He addresses them through their fears, it is not because He is not good as well as just, but because goodness by itself is often despised. There are two kinds of fear—one accompanied by reverence, such as children feel towards their parents ; the other by hatred, such as slaves feel towards

¹ *Kaye's Clement*, pp. 12, 15, 18, 20 (in *Ancient and Modern Library*).

² *Paed.* p. 116.

harsh masters. There is no incompatibility between justice and goodness. The physician who tells his patient that he has a fever has no ill will to him, nor has God, when He convinces man of sin. God of Himself is good, but He is just for our sakes, and just because good.¹

The bulk of the book is taken up with minute regulations (many of them borrowed from the Stoic Musonius) as to the way in which a Christian should behave both at home and abroad. There are few remains of antiquity from which we learn so much as to the every-day life of the Greeks. Sometimes we are astonished that Christians could need the warnings that are given; sometimes we are amused at what seems trivial, but on the whole it is characterized by good sense and good taste, and gives a beautiful picture of Christian modesty and simplicity. It concludes with a hymn to the Saviour, one of the earliest specimens, but not, I think, a very successful one, of Christian psalmody. I will quote from the prayer which immediately precedes it. "Grant that we all, living in Thy peace, translated into Thy city, safely traversing the waves of sin, may be peacefully borne along with the Holy Spirit, the ineffable wisdom; and day and night, until the perfect day, may give thanks with praise to the only Father and Son, the Tutor and the Teacher, together with the Holy Spirit, in Whom are all things, through Whom all things are one, through Whom is eternity, Whose members we all are, Whose is the glory, the ages. To the All-good, All-fair, All-wise, All-just, be glory now and for ever. Amen."²

The third and much the longest division of Clement's great work is the *Miscellanies*. In reading this we have to bear in mind a distinction, on which much stress was laid among Jews and Greek philosophers, and even in the New Testament, between what may be called the higher and the lower virtuousness, between the Jew who knows the law

¹ Kaye, pp. 36, 37.

² Kaye, p. 63.

and the Jew who has to receive it from others, between the political virtues, based on good training, of the auxiliaries in Plato's ideal State and the virtue of the guardians which was founded on principle and insight, between the Stoic sage who is complete in every excellence and the fools who make up the rest of humanity, between the babes in Christ who must still be fed with milk and the full grown men who have their senses exercised to discern between good and evil.

This distinction had been exaggerated by the Gnostic schools, who divided men into three classes—earthly, psychical, and spiritual, the difference between these classes being considered to rest on an original difference of nature, by which they were predestined for different conditions hereafter, leaving little room for the exercise of free will. Salvation is impossible for the earthly; it is made possible for the psychical by means of faith and good works; it is certain for the spiritual by means of knowledge, which enables them to dispense with subordinate means. Clement strongly opposed this introduction of the caste-system into Christianity. All are alike saved by faith and by the God-given power of free choice, working through the ability which Divine grace supplies. But knowledge (*γνῶσις*) is essential to the full perfection of the Christian man, and it is the object of Clement in his *Miscellanies* to instruct men in this true *γνῶσις*, in opposition to the false *γνῶσις* of the pseudo-Gnostics.

This third treatise has a curious title. We should have expected it to be called *Διδάσκαλος*, "the teacher," for teaching of the Christian mysteries, the explanation of doctrine and of the meaning of Scripture, is what Clement frequently refers to as the final stage of his initiation.¹ It seems

¹ See De Faye, *Clement d'Alexandre, Etude sur les rapports du Christianisme et de la Philosophie Grecque au Deuxième Siècle*, p. 47 foll. and the quotations there given.

however that he found it expedient to interpose a preparatory work,¹ which he calls *Στρωματεῖς*, or, more fully τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀληθῆ φιλοσοφίαν γνωστικῶν ὑπομνημάτων στρωματεῖς, i.e. literally "bags of striped canvas in which bedclothes were kept rolled up." The phrase was used figuratively of a collection of loose remarks, with no very definite end or order. One might compare such books as Coleridge's *Friend* or *Aids to Confession*. It is possible that Clement may have been conscious that he was wanting in the architectonic faculty needed for a logical exhibition of Christian doctrine. It is possible on the other hand that he doubted the patience of his readers, and certainly it was an age in which *Miscellanies* (such as those of A. Gellius and Athenaeus) were very popular. There are however two other reasons which appear to have influenced him: one, that in it he proposed to store up his recollections of the teaching of the instructors from whom he had himself learnt most, especially Pantaenus; the other that he wished rather to suggest than to enforce views, which he thought might be misunderstood by the narrower school of Churchmen, Orthodoxastae as he called them, who rejected the aids of human learning, and said that faith was sufficient, and that philosophy came from Satan. Clement puts forward his own view that it came from God, and was partly borrowed from the Old Testament, which was far more ancient than the philosophy of Greece. Still faith is not only the first movement to salvation, leading on to love and knowledge, but remains a necessity of life to the Gnostic,

¹ This view, that the *Miscellanies* is not the proper conclusion to Clement's course of Christian initiation, but was intended to prepare the way for its true conclusion, *The Teacher*, is maintained with much force by De Faye in his work on Clement, published in 1898. He collects and examines all the allusions to forthcoming works which are scattered through the *Miscellanies*, and shows that they would fit in very well into a whole, corresponding to Origen's *Principia*. It is possible that the plan was never fully carried out, that Clement either did not live to complete it, or found it more convenient to bring it out piecemeal under different names. See De Faye, p. 109 foll.

as necessary as the air he breathes is to this lower life. Thus the true Gnostic stands firmly fixed in faith, while the false Gnostic, who is puffed up with the idea of his own wisdom, is carried away by random impulse.

A favourite topic with Clement, when arguing against the Gnostic dualism, which opposed the just God of the Old Testament to the good God of the New, is that God's justice is only a form of His love, and that His punishments are remedial not vindictive. For this compare *Str.* i. 369: "It is the nature of God to be always doing good, as it is of fire to warm and of light to illumine"; *Str.* v. 733: "There was no beginning of the goodness of God and there will be no end of it, for God can never cease being what He is"; *Str.* vi. 813: "God being good, if He should cease to do good; He must cease to be"; *Str.* vi. 764: "Since the Lord is the Power of God, He is always able to save both here and elsewhere. For His effective power reaches not this world only, but all other worlds throughout all time"; *Str.* vii. 895: "As children are chastened by their fathers, so are we by God, who does not take vengeance (for vengeance, *τιμωρία*, is retaliation of evil) but chastises for the good of those who are chastised, collectively and individually"; *Str.* vi. c. 14: "The greatest punishment which can be inflicted on the Christian is shame for his past sins. For God's justice is good and His goodness is just. And though the punishments cease in the course of the completion of the expiation (*ἐκτίσεως*) and purification of each, yet to have missed the highest of the heavenly folds is a source of permanent sorrow"; *Str.* vii. c. 2: "Those who are more hardened are constrained to repent by chastisements, inflicted either through the agency of angels, or through various preliminary judgements, or through the great and final judgement, by the goodness of the great Judge, whose eye is ever upon us."

Not to dwell further on this point, I will insert here the

substance of some selected passages which will illustrate the freshness and vigour of Clement's way of thinking; and I will then close with some appreciations from subsequent writers.

P. 834 foll. : In the Divine economy no part of the universe is uncared for, but all are piloted in safety according to the Father's will, ranks below ranks being drawn upwards, like iron rings by the magnet, all saving and being saved through the initiation and action of One . . . That which is lovely has power to draw to the contemplation of itself whoever has devoted himself to contemplation. . . . These Gnostic souls being translated to another sphere, keep on always moving to higher and yet higher regions, until they no longer greet the divine vision by means of mirrors from afar; but with loving hearts feast for ever on the uncloying, never-ending sight, which is the apprehensive vision of the pure in heart.

P. 849 foll. : Our sacrifice is prayer, our incense the songs of praise ascending from many tongues and voices, our altar the righteous soul, our temple the congregation of those who are devoted to prayer. P. 877 : To the Gnostic the Wednesday and the Friday fasts signify the mortifying of the love of money and of pleasure. He holds that to be a Lord's Day on which he puts away an evil thought, and assumes one fitted for a Gnostic, doing honour to the Lord's resurrection in himself. When he gets sight of some scientific principle (*ἐπιστημονικοῦ θεωρήματος*) he thinks he sees the Lord Himself. P. 851 : If the presence of some good man always moulds for the better one who converses with him, owing to the respect and reverence which he inspires, how much more must he who is always in the uninterrupted presence of God be raised above himself on every occasion, both in regard to his actions and his words and his temper ! Such is he who believes that God is everywhere present and does not suppose Him to be shut up in this or that

place, so as to be tempted to sin by the imagination, forsooth, that he could ever be apart from God whether by day or night. P. 853: Where there is an unworthy conception of God it is impossible that there should be any true devotion. Prayer is converse with God, who never ceases to listen to the inward converse of the heart. There are some who assign fixed hours to prayer, but the Gnostic prays all his life through. P. 860: Thus his life is a holy festival. He prays in every place, whether he is walking, or in company, or at rest, or reading, or engaged in good works; and though it be only a thought in the secret chamber of his heart, yet the Father is nigh at hand, even before he has done speaking.

P. 871: Those that endure trial from love of glory, or from fear of some severer punishment, or with a view to any joys or pleasures after death, such are mere children in faith, blessed indeed, but not yet having attained to manhood in their love to God—for the Church too has its prizes both for men and for boys as the gymnasium has—but love is to be chosen for its own sake, and not from any meaner motive. Love by her anointing and training makes her own champion fearless and full of trust in the Lord. The same too may be said of temperance. For a man is not made really temperate through ambition, as the athlete for the sake of crowns and glory; nor again through covetousness, as some feign, pursuing a good end by means of a fatal passion; no, nor yet through the desire of bodily health, nor from boorish insensibility, enabling him to abstain from pleasures for which he has no taste.

The chivalrous enthusiastic character of Clement comes out strongly in the two next quotations:

P. 875: The Gnostic would rather pray and fail than succeed without prayer; *Str.* iv. 626: If any one were to offer to the Gnostic the choice between two things (which are really inseparably connected)—the knowledge of God or

eternal salvation—he would without hesitation choose the knowledge of God.

Clement's idea of punishment being opposed to the *prima facie* view of certain passages of Scripture, though it is the only idea which is consistent with the central truths of Christianity, was no doubt derived by him from Plato, to whom he continually refers as an authority, even ascribing to him something of prophetic inspiration (οἶον θεοφορούμενος, *Str.* i. 42). We may trace Plato's influence in his statement of other doctrines, such as that sin is due to the abuse of man's free will (αἰτία ἐλομένου, θεὸς ἀναίτιος, *Str.* v. 731); that man is capable of becoming a partaker of the Divine Nature (*Str.* vi. 634, vii. 830); that Christian belief has its beginning in wonder (*Str.* vii. 867); that the combination of reason and enthusiasm are essential to true virtue (*Str.* vii. 870). So again Stoic influence is apparent in his distinction between the things that are, and are not in our power (*Str.* vii. 868); in his acceptance of the famous paradoxes that the wise man (the true Christian) is rich and noble and beautiful, the true king among men (*Protr.* 92); that the virtues all hang together (*Str.* ii. 470); that the Christian is ἀνάρκης (*Str.* vii. 857). At times his dependence on Greek philosophy has led him into unguarded statements, as in reference to the doctrine of Reserve, the medicinal falsehood of Plato (*Str.* vii. 863); and the ἀπάθεια, the passionless state, which the Stoics regarded as a mark of perfection (*Str.* vii. 836). There is a touch of the self-assertion of the Stoic sage in *Str.* vii. 860, where Clement quotes with approval the story of the athlete who prayed for victory in the Olympic games in the words, "If I, O Zeus, have now done all that was fitting on my part in preparation for the contest, do thou make haste to bestow the victory I deserve." This makes it all the more surprising that Clement should have fiercely attacked the Stoics for upholding the doctrine, which lies at the root of the Incarnation, of the identity of virtue in man and in God.

ESTIMATES OF CLEMENT.

The piety and learning of Clement, his power as a teacher and philosopher, are spoken of in the highest terms by succeeding Fathers.

The 4th December was known in the middle ages as St. Clement's Day. In the sixteenth century Pope Clement VIII. omitted his name from the martyrology at the instance of Baronius, and his judgment was confirmed by Boniface XIV. in 1748, when the matter was again brought before him by the admirers of the Alexandrian doctor; the grounds of the decision being the uncertainty as to the details of his life, the absence of proof as to his cultus, and the doubts raised as to his orthodoxy, though on this last point the Pope refused to pronounce. The original author of the doubts as to Clement's orthodoxy is Photius, a learned writer of the ninth century, who said that his treatise entitled *Hypotyposes* contained Gnostic errors, whether belonging to Clement himself or interpolated by heretics. We have fragments of this book, which certainly are opposed to orthodox doctrine, and also to what is said elsewhere by Clement himself; and there is every reason to believe that they are merely quotations from Gnostic writers with a view to commenting upon them. However, it must be allowed that he is sometimes incautious in his expressions. In one passage of the *Miscellanies* he seems to hold a kind of docetic view of the Person of our Lord, implying that His humanity was apparent only, e.g. that food was not really needed by Him; but this is not supported by anything else in his writings.

In the discussion between Fénelon and Bossuet on the disinterested love of God, Clement is quoted by both sides as an authority. In our own day his teaching and his method are being recalled by eminent French Catholics, as giving an example of what is needed in order to meet the

difficulties of a period of transition. The Abbé Cognat (1859) quotes with approval the words of Bossuet that in Clement's works we have "une parfaite apologie de la religion chrétienne," and contrasts his methods with those of the traditionalists, who deny the rights of reason, and declare an internecine strife between science and theology. Monsigneur Freppel, in his lectures delivered in 1865, says that Clement's boldness and largeness of view are enough of themselves to give him a high position in the history of theology. No defender of the faith ever studied so deeply the relations between science and faith, between the natural and the supernatural order. He has given a sketch of Christian science extending from the philosophy of history to the heights of mystical theology, which in its main lines is of permanent value. Eugène de Faye in his book, published in 1898, on the *Relation of Christianity to Greek Philosophy*, compares our age with that of Clement as a period of transition, in which the germs of the future are fermenting. We cannot be indifferent to him and his work. He is the true creator of ecclesiastical theology. In him the rational and mystical elements are equally mixed. He has a beautiful trust and a noble serenity which mark the depth of his Christianity. He feels himself possessed of a divine virtue which ensures to him the victory. He fears no one. He dares to measure himself against the philosophy and the spirit of his age, because he feels himself able to dominate them, i.e. to appropriate all that they offer of good. He feels in himself that the Truth has made him free. He is at once the firmest of believers and the most inquisitive and independent spirit that has perhaps ever appeared in the Church. Unhappily the legalistic spirit of Tertullian and Cyprian prevailed over the free spirit of Clement and of Origen. It remains for Christians of to-day to revert to the wider theology.

Of English writers who have held Clement in esteem, I

have already mentioned Cardinal Wiseman. Maurice (in his *Ecclesiastical History*, p. 233) says: "Clement's writings, though they are often censured as being learned and philosophical and mystical, were, I am convinced, written with a more distinctly practical purpose, and produced a more practical effect, than any which we have received from this or from almost any century"; (p. 239): "I do not know where we shall look for a purer or a truer man than this Clement of Alexandria. I should like to be able to tell you more of his countenance and manner, as well as to give more particulars of his history. . . . But we must be content to make his acquaintance through the words which he has spoken. Judging from these he seems to me *that* one of the old Fathers, whom we should all have revered most as a teacher and loved most as a friend."

I will conclude with a quotation from Hort's *Antenicene Fathers* (p. 93): "In Clement, Christian Theology in some important respects reaches its highest point. With all his manifest defects there was no one whose vision of what the faith of Jesus Christ was intended to do for mankind was so full or so true"; (p. 90): "What he humbly and bravely attempted under great disadvantages . . . will have to be attempted afresh, with the added experience of more than seventeen centuries, if the Christian faith is still to hold its ground among men; and when the attempt is made, not a few of his thoughts and words will probably shine out with new force, full of light for dealing with new problems."

JOSEPH B. MAYOR.

BARNABAS AND HIS GENUINE EPISTLE.

BUT why should the Roman Church be a special authority on the authorship of this Epistle, especially if Barnabas was its author? The Barnabas of the New Testament was essentially an apostle of the Eastern Mediterranean. Why then should Romans father a work on him of all apostolic men? Some satisfy themselves with the rather obvious reply, "This only shows that the letter was at any rate written to Rome." Yet many of the phenomena, especially those already referred to touching the course of the disciplinary problem in Rome, seem to point quite the other way. At least let us at this stage consider an alternative answer, namely that Barnabas had actually visited Italy, if not Rome. The memory of this might soon fade in all quarters of the Church save those most concerned; and yet it has a footing in written tradition, as preserved for us in the *Clementine Recognitions*.¹ This work (i. 7) represents Clement as having heard the Gospel from Barnabas in Rome. Dr. Hort thought it was written in Rome; yet it assumes that Barnabas' ministry in Rome preceded that of Peter. It is hard then to see how such a notion could take root in the very stronghold of Petrine traditions save on a basis of well known fact. That basis would seem to have included both Barnabas' presence in Rome (or at least Italy) and some personal relations between him and Clement, in the early days of the latter's Christian faith. This circumstance would fully account for the abundant use of Hebrews in Clement's own Epistle; while it is doubtful whether this fact is a sufficient cause for the Clementine legend of their first meeting, as found in such a work as the *Recognitions*.

¹ Where Barnabas is also assumed to be a personal disciple of Christ. It is probable that the Roman phase of the tradition existed already in the common basis of the *Homilies and Recognitions*, which can hardly have been later than the latter half of the second century (So Lipsius, cf. Hort, *Clementine Recognitions*, who [p. 87] traces the "Circuits of Peter," the written nucleus of both works, to c. A.D. 200.)

But in any case the presence of Barnabas in Italy seems the irreducible minimum needful to get the legend started at all. And of this we have confirmation in certain other legends,¹ some of which connect him with Rome, and others with Milan. But it is to be noted that the latter, which seem to go back to the early part of the fourth century at latest,² presuppose the visit to Rome. And conversely the recognition of the Milanese tradition by Roman authorities, suggest that the latter were glad to transfer Barnabas from their own Church to its northern sister, since this helped to obscure the memory of the earlier tradition that Barnabas had preached in Rome before Peter. As Harnack has said, *Barnabas Roma expellitur*.³ Thus the two traditions support each other as to the fundamental fact that Barnabas was once in Rome, which, as Lipsius observes, is "the relatively oldest tradition" as to Barnabas. That the tradition touching Barnabas' presence in Rome, even before Peter's arrival, goes back to more than the Clementine romance, is not only likely in itself, but seems proved by evidence coming from quite another theological quarter and with every appearance of independence. In the Gnostic *Actus Petri Vercellenses* we read that Barnabas, as well as Timothy, had been sent from Rome to Macedonia by Paul before his "own journey into Spain."⁴ Here the idea that

¹ Eastern as well as Italian. Thus Lipsius shows that the Alexandrian and Cyprian legends, as a rule, bring Barnabas to Alexandria only after visiting Rome. Zahn thinks the *Encomium* on Barnabas by Alexander, a Cyprian monk of the sixth century, nowhere betrays dependence of the Clementines, though he makes Barnabas visit Rome.

² I cannot see that the doubts cast on the genuineness of the inscriptions in the names of Mirocles and Protasius, bishops of Milan about A.D. 313 and A.D. 350 respectively, are well grounded. Nor does it seem safe to press the *Arg. c. silentio* applied to Ambrose; for he had no need to carry his appeal to tradition against Arianism back behind Mirocles, i.e. beyond Arian's day.

³ Quoted by Lipsius, *Die apocr. Apostelgeschichten*, u. s. w., II. ii. 275; cf. Salmon, *Introd. to N. T.* 448 note.

⁴ Et non minime fratres scandalizabantur ad invicem (on seeing the specious marvels of Simon Magus in Rome), praeterea quod non esset Romae Paulus neque Timotheus neque Barnabas, quoniam in Macedoniam missi erant a Paulo.

Barnabas and Timothy were together with Paul in Rome, is most noteworthy; for there is nothing in the New Testament itself to suggest it, save to those who already believed that Barnabas was the writer of Heb. xiii. 23, and that from Italy.

As to the assumption underlying the Clementine *Homilies*,¹ that Barnabas visited Alexandria; this, though a secondary element in the legend,² is quite credible in itself. It would be natural for a Hellenist of Cyprus to visit the nascent Church of Alexandria, which had no apostolic founder. The very fact that the Epistle which the Alexandrian Church came to father on Barnabas presupposes a visit of the writer to his readers (as having introduced him to them and them to him), suggests that its early traditions knew of such a visit to Barnabas, and that in fact its theory of authorship was based, in part at least, on this coincidence of conditions. Whether Barnabas died a martyr's death we cannot say. It is a suspicious fact that this is characteristic of the Cyprian form of his legend, which makes his martyrdom occur in Salamis, at the hands of certain Jews. But in any case, no tradition regards him as surviving the fall of Jerusalem.

VERNON BARTLET.

Here, Timothy being named first (cf. Acts xix. 22 for the idea) there was no need to bring in Barnabas, unless tradition had it that he was actually with Paul during part of the latter's stay in Rome.

¹ i. 8, ii. 4.

² Witness the lame way in which it is tacked on to the narrative, according to which Clement was carried by stress of weather to Alexandria (i. 8), while sailing from Rome to Caesarea, as in the *Recognitions* (i. 12).

ELIAS AND THE MEN OF VIOLENCE.

THE phrase of Matthew xi. 12-15=Luke xvi. 16, is one whose obscurity calls for investigation of its history. The context, whether of Matthew or Luke, affords but little help. The two Evangelists differ as to the occasion and neither context is satisfactory in itself. Matthew is clearly self-contradictory in making this positive, public identification of the Baptist with Elias by Jesus Himself precede His private, mysterious intimation of the same fact to the Twelve in xvii. 9-13. Luke's context in xvi. 14-18 is perhaps the most striking instance in the Gospels of complete irrelevancy. The most that can be gathered from it is that Jesus excludes from the kingdom the self-righteous Pharisees, in favour of those who are not "justified in the sight of men." The two versions of the saying agree, then, in scarcely more than the three main points: (1) John the Baptist terminates a dispensation of "the law and the prophets." (2) Entrance into the kingdom of God is now general. (3) Men of violence are making it their prey. Who these "men of violence" are, and whether commended or condemned for forcing their way to the places taken by them in the kingdom, are questions in debate among the commentators.

It is safe to say that the fuller form of the saying given by Matthew adds something more than irrelevant details. Even in the brief and obscure form of Luke it is clear that John stands midway between the era of "the law and the prophets" and that of the "preaching of the gospel of the kingdom of God," in his capacity of usher-in of the Messianic Kingdom; so that the omission by Luke of the direct identification of the Baptist with "Elias which was for to come" is not indicative of interpolation in Matthew, but must be judged rather in the light of the

systematic treatment our third Evangelist has given to this doctrine.¹ On the contrary it is just the function of Elias in current Jewish legend, which throws the needful light upon the "men of violence," who seize places in the kingdom as their booty, as well as on their relation to John the Baptist and his gospel of the kingdom of God for repentant sinners.

In *Edujoth* viii. 7, which Schürer, whose translation is here quoted,² designates "the chief passage in the Mishnah" on the subject of Elias as forerunner of Messiah, Elias is specifically charged with the duties of doorkeeper of the Messianic Kingdom, much as is St. Peter in Christian legend. But he does not act as arbiter in all cases; it is only to redress the grievances of those who have been unjustly excluded by the scribes in their exercise of the power of the keys (Matt. xxiii. 13; Luke xi. 52), or conversely. The passage is as follows:

"R. Joshua said: I received the tradition from R. Johanan ben Sakkai, who received it from his teacher as a tradition in the direct line from Moses at Mount Sinai, that Elias would not come to pronounce clean or unclean, reject or admit, families in general; but only to reject those who had *entered by violence*, and to admit those who had been *rejected by violence*." The passage then proceeds to cite cases in illustration. "There was, beyond Jordan, a family of the name Beth Zerefa, which a certain Ben Zion had excluded by violence. There was there another family (of impure blood) whom this Ben Zion had admitted by violence. Therefore he comes to pronounce such clean or unclean, to reject or admit them. R. Jehudah says: only

¹ In my article "The Transfiguration Story" (*American Journal of Theology*, April, 1902), I have shown that in the later Gospels the identification of the Baptist with the Apocalyptic figure of Elias the "witness of Messiah" is greatly modified, or absolutely denied, Luke i. 17, ix. 19, 28-36, xvi. 26-31, xxiii. 46; John i. 21, 25, v. 33-35, 37-47, x. 41.

² *History of the Jewish People*, § 29, iii. 2.

to admit, but not to reject. R. Simon says: his mission is merely to arrange disputes. The learned say: neither to reject nor admit, but his coming is merely with the object of making peace in the world. For it is said (Mal. iii. 4), "I send you Elijah the prophet to turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to the fathers."

According to the indications of this very ancient tradition, which even in its earliest form concedes to Elias the supreme power of the keys, and contends only for the highest measure of subordinate authority for the scribes, the Baptist fulfils the function of Elias in that he puts an end to the usurpations of the scribes in the matter of admitting to or excluding from the theocratic commonwealth. The "men of violence" may possibly be the victims of this tyranny, and hence commended for pressing in by (what to the scribes and Pharisees is) violence. More probably the epithet is turned upon its coiners, who since the days of John seize upon the kingdom of God as their booty (*βασταὶ ἀρπάζουσιν αὐτήν*), so that till now it "suffereth violence."¹ But Elias who had suffered at their hands "even as it was written of Him,"² like Messiah, who must also suffer at their hands, will rise again from the dead, and reverse the wrong.

What then is the true context of this saying? Not that of Matthew, for, as we have seen in xvii. 9-13, the Twelve are still in ignorance on the subject, and the open reference to the usurpations of the religious authorities, even if there be not allusion to the expected fate of Messiah, suggests a

¹ Compare the "thieves and robbers" who force an entrance, John x. 1-10, in sequel to the story of the casting out from the synagogue of Jesus' disciples as "sinners," John ix. 22-41.

² Mark ix. 13. A reference, as J. R. Harris has shown, *Independent*, 1898, p. 1218, and *Jewish Quart. Review*, vol. x. 1898, p. 277 f., to current apocalyptic literature, wherein the returned Elias not merely works wonders (Mark vi. 14, cf. John x. 41) but is martyred and rises from the dead (Mark vi. 14). So in later Christian legend Elias—John the Baptist, risen from the dead—appears as forerunner of the *parousia*. See Bousset, *Legend of Antichrist*, the chapter on The Two Witnesses.

date in the very latest instead of the earliest period of Jesus' career.

It is the context of Luke which we must adopt, but with a proviso. I have endeavoured to show elsewhere¹ that the discourses on the right use of wealth, Luke xvi. 1-9, 10-13, 14-15, belong to a different connexion. This leaves the saying now under consideration, Luke xvi. 16, to follow immediately the group of parables uttered in defence of "the publicans and sinners" against the Pharisees and scribes who murmured saying, "This man receiveth sinners and eateth with them" (Luke xv.). More specifically it will follow that of the Prodigal Son. All these have but very remote parallels in Matthew; but if, nevertheless, we place the two side by side, we shall meet a very striking result.

Matthew's parallel to the parable of the Prodigal Son is the parable of the Two Sons, of whom the one, bidden by his father Go, work in my vineyard, and at first refusing, but afterwards penitently obeying, represents, according to Jesus' own application of the parable, the class of "publicans and harlots," outcasts from the synagogue, who had yet "repented at the preaching of John." The other son, who professed obedience but went not, represents the self-righteous, self-appointed guardians of the gates of the theocracy. These were neither baptized by John, nor were they even later moved by the sight of the repenting "sinners" themselves to believe at "the sign of Jonah,"² repent and be forgiven. But in Matthew this parable and the connected sayings form an inseparable group with that of the Usurping Husbandmen, *uttered after the purifying of the Temple.*

It is in fact in the larger connexion of Matthew xxi. 23-46

¹ *The Sermon on the Mount*, Macmillan, 1902, pp. 149-156, 186-199.

² That is, the Baptist's summons to repentance, whose rejection by that "evil and adulterous generation" lays it open to condemnation even by "the men of Nineveh," who "repented at the preaching of Jonah," Matt. xii. 38-39, 41-45. See my *Sermon on the Mount*, p. 232.

that the saying on Elias and the men of violence finds its true context. "It is the story of how Jesus, in Jerusalem, challenged by the chief priests and elders" for His authority in venturing to reclaim to its use as a house of prayer the temple which they had transformed into a den of robbery to fleece the poor, bade them pronounce first, since they claimed this right of judgment, on the mission of the Baptist, whether he had, or had not, authority from God to summon Israel to a baptism of repentance before the Messianic judgment. Then it is, when they have flinched from this challenge, that He propounds the *two* parables of the vineyard, first that of the workers, professed and real, symbolized by the Two Sons; then that of the Usurping Husbandmen. Between these two, unless all internal evidence be at fault, as well as the grouping which underlies Luke's Gospel, is the true place for Matthew xi. 12-15.¹ After uttering the parable of the Two Sons, Jesus applies it to the emissaries of the Sanhedrin who are challenging His authority: "Verily I say unto you, that the publicans and the harlots go into the kingdom of God² before you. For John came unto you in the way of righteousness, and ye believed him not: but the publicans and the harlots believed him: and ye, when ye saw it, did not even repent yourselves afterward, that ye might believe him." Then, challenging in turn *their* usurped authority, and making them a present of the solution of the problem they had professed themselves unable to solve—"And from the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and men of violence seize it as their booty. For all the prophets and

¹ It is a curious corroboration of this proposed transposition of Matthew xi. 12-15 after xxi. 32, that in Luke the converse has occurred. For the Lukan parallel to Matthew xxi. 31-32, that is, Luke vii. 29-30, is found in the passage corresponding to Matthew xi. 2-19.

² In all but four cases out of 36 Matthew substitutes for the expression kingdom of God, universally employed elsewhere in the New Testament, the phrase "kingdom of heaven." Of the four exceptions two (xxi. 31, 43) occur in our passage and its proper context.

the law prophesied until John. And, *if ye are willing to receive it, this is Elias which is to come* (scil., to admit those who have been excluded by violence and to exclude those who have seized a place by violence). He that hath ears, let him hear." After this followed the parable of the Usurping Husbandmen, who, after slaying the messengers of the Master of the Vineyard, at last cast out and slay the Heir also, in the vain hope to seize the inheritance as their booty; with it also the doom that overtakes them from the Lord of the Vineyard.

It makes no small gain in significance both to the saying on Elias and violent entrance into the kingdom, and to the whole context of Jesus' challenge to the chief priests and scribes in Jerusalem, when they are thus brought together and interpreted in the light of current eschatological ideas.

BENJ. W. BACON.

STUDIES IN THE "INNER LIFE" OF JESUS.

VI.

THE EARLY SELF-DISCLOSURE.

1. HAVING accepted His task, Jesus set about its fulfilment. But what was His first step? According to the Synoptists He passed from His Baptism and Temptation to His public ministry in Galilee. But, according to John, He gathered a few followers around Him, and, after a brief visit to Cana, began His public ministry in Jerusalem. It is not at all unlikely that He drew His first disciples from the following of John the Baptist, and that, as the Messiah of the Jewish people, He made His first public appearance in the capital, the centre of national life and worship. The call of some of His disciples to be His constant companions, recorded in the Synoptists, most probably was preceded by such personal intercourse as John reports. These differences in the narratives can be harmonized. A greater difficulty meets us when we compare the Johannine record of Jesus' sayings and doings in the early Judæan ministry with the Synoptic account of His words and works in Galilee. According to John, the Baptist proclaims Him the Messiah; He is accepted by the first disciples as the Messiah; to the woman of Samaria even He declares Himself to be the Messiah. According to the Synoptists He carefully guards the secret of the Messiahship, until at Caesarea Philippi, Peter, in the name of the other disciples, confesses Him the Messiah, and even then He forbids the publication of this discovery to the multitude; and it is only at His last entry into Jerusalem that He assumes Messianic dignity, and accepts Messianic homage. How can we explain the apparent inconsistency of these two representations?

2. The Gordian knot is often cut by denying the apos-

tolie origin and the historical value of the Fourth Gospel. Wendt, in his recent work, while acknowledging the apostolic origin and the historical value of the Source used by the Evangelist in recording most of the discourses of Jesus, finds very few traces of the use of this Source in this part of the Gospel. The conflict of the evidence is set aside by denying the credibility of one of the witnesses. Another explanation, which the writer of these Studies was at one time more inclined to favour than he is now, may be briefly stated. While John in his old age retained a very vivid memory of times and places, and thus his report is to be relied on in these particulars, he lost the remembrance of the small beginnings of his faith in Jesus in the experience he had of what that faith had grown into. He could not so detach himself from his present convictions of the grace and glory of his Lord, as to recall what he had actually thought of Him when he first met Him. The bright radiance of his full-grown faith fell over and hid from him the dim gleams of that faith when new-born. Human experience offers many illustrations of such a psychological process. A husband and a wife, who have lived their common life of love for a number of years, find it very difficult to realize that they were once strangers to one another, and that their present intimate relation began in what appeared a casual acquaintance. Dr. Sanday recognizes such a possibility in the words, "It is possible that the Evangelist may have been led to define somewhat in view of later events and later doctrines" (*Hastings' Bible Dictionary*, ii. p. 612). Without entirely rejecting this explanation, the writer now prefers to entertain another, which may be thus stated :

3. The beginning of His ministry seems to have been a time of strain and stress for Jesus. Mark graphically describes His retirement from the Baptism to the Temptation in the words, "Straightway the Spirit driveth Him

forth into the wilderness." His answer to His mother in Cana is not the utterance of a calm mood, but betrays intense and even conflicting emotion. The impression made on His disciples by His bearing and behaviour in cleansing the Temple is expressed by the quotation, "The zeal of thine house shall eat me up." How bold is the challenge to the priesthood in the words, "Destroy this Temple and in three days I will raise it up"! How severe is this demand made on the Pharisaic party as represented by Nicodemus in the saying, "Ye must be born anew"! How striking is His confidence in the woman of Samaria, when He confesses Himself the Messiah! Is it not a legitimate conclusion that Jesus, intensely inspired by the consciousness of His vocation, and as yet necessarily ignorant of the unpreparedness of all with whom He came into contact to receive Him in the spirit and for the purpose which He Himself cherished, was at first franker in speech and more daring in deed than afterwards, when, taught by experience the danger of a premature and misdirected Messianic movement, He exercised a reserve in utterance and a restraint in action, which secured the delay during which He was enabled to teach and train His disciples to confess Him Messiah as a result of the impression He had made, and the influence He had wielded, and not as a consequence of the popular Messianic expectations which from the beginning they had cherished? May we not even find a hint of a change from confidence to caution in John's words, "Jesus did not trust Himself unto them, for that He knew all men"? Heralded and acknowledged Messiah by the Baptist, His divinely ordained forerunner, confirmed in His sense of Sonship, and endowed for His work by gifts from Heaven at His Baptism, tested by temptation but triumphant in His fidelity to His vocation, convinced of the world's urgent need of Himself as the Saviour divinely promised and humanly desired, is it sur-

prising that He entered on His work with enthusiasm and energy, without ostentatiously declaring, yet also without entirely concealing from all who He knew Himself to be, and what He was called of God to do for men? Would it not have been strange rather if calculating caution, and not fervent zeal, had marked the beginning of His ministry?

4. This course, however, was also the path of wisdom. However careful an observer and skilful a judge of His times Jesus had been in Nazareth, it was quite impossible for Him to know what was the condition of all classes in the community as regards their preparedness or otherwise for His ministry. Experience alone could show if the people generally could be trusted to receive Him as the Messiah, such as He desired to be, and not as they expected. What men will do cannot be known until their choice has been made, until they have been tested. Does not a fresh light fall on the early ministry, if we regard it as for the most part a time of testing? The Baptist was, as might be expected, the first whose faith was proved; next came the disciples whom He had gathered around Him; then Jesus' own family followed. The priesthood was tested by deed, the cleansing of the Temple, and the Pharisaic party by word, the talk with Nicodemus. As the woman of Samaria seemed ready, the truth was made known to her. Even as Jesus Himself was tempted, and proved Himself ready for His vocation, so it was needful that He should test His environment to discover how far it was ready for the exercise of that vocation. As we read the record, we must be impressed by the care and skill with which Jesus made these tests. His enthusiasm and energy were tempered by discernment and discretion. Priests and scribes, Sadducees and Pharisees, proved themselves unready. Samaritans were impressionable, but not reliable. His mother even was not altogether intelligent. A few disciples of the Baptist seemed capable of further teaching and training. Thus

He came with the fan in His hand, sifting the chaff from the wheat.

5. If the writer supposed that this explanation raised any doubt, or laid any charge against the sinless perfection of Jesus, he would not even venture to mention it, for that unique glory of Jesus is a certainty for faith against which no conjecture of thought can be advanced. But did not Jesus learn obedience by the things that He suffered? was He not surprised and grieved by the unbelief of the multitude and the misunderstanding of His disciples? did He not gain information by inquiry, and did not the Divine guidance come to Him not apart from, but by means of His daily experience of men's works and ways? If He was thus limited in knowledge (this important subject must be dealt with in a subsequent Study), He could not foresee the attitude men would assume to Him until He put them to the test. It is, therefore, no detracting from the excellence of His Person to recognize the consequences for His action which this limitation of knowledge imposed. May we not also add that, even if His confidence was sometimes misplaced, and His expectations were sometimes disappointed, the charity of His spirit, the generosity of His judgment, moral excellences, are thereby made the more conspicuous, and thus the very limitation of His knowledge serves as a foil for the exaltation of His character. He was too good to be cynical and suspicious; He was so good that He saw other men in the light of the surpassing radiance of His love and grace.

6. It is not improbable, in view of this explanation, that Jesus, as already suggested in a previous Study, gave the Baptist some indication of His vocation, that the Baptist at His Baptism was convinced of His Messiahship, and conveyed this conviction to two of his disciples in an allusion to the prophetic ideal Jesus had accepted, that these disciples forsook the Baptist and followed Jesus, and that a

few others from John's circle joined the small company. As we study the narrative of the intercourse of Jesus with these first disciples, what strikes us is that the Evangelist does not ascribe to Jesus any words explicitly claiming the Messiahship. He cannot refuse the Baptist's testimony, nor deny the confession of the disciples, but He does not expressly confirm either. What He does is to assert His spiritual dominion over them. Had John and Andrew in their first conversation shown the imperfect conceptions they cherished, and thus imposed on Jesus the task of education, which during the whole ministry was so patiently continued?

7. Probably the ideas of these disciples were little, if at all, in advance of the popular expectations. Their intercourse with John the Baptist may have led them to lay greater stress than the people did on the moral reformation involved in the Messianic reign. What they needed was to be so taught and trained by the instruction and influence of Jesus, that they would accept His Messianic ideal. Peter did this in the name of the other disciples at Caesarea Philippi, even although their original expectations had been disappointed. If it is this scene which is alluded to, as is not improbable, in John vi. 66-71, then Jesus' question, "would ye also go away?" suggests that it was not an entirely new discovery of His Messiahship which had to be made by the disciples, but a conviction, formerly accepted, which had to be maintained against adverse influences within and without, in spite of the thorough change in their thoughts and hopes, which Jesus by His words and works required of them. It may be even that some of the disciples who joined Jesus at the Jordan did falter in their faith, and waver in their allegiance, when they learned more about His works and ways, and that the summons to follow Him recorded in the Synoptists may have been a recall from a temporary distrust and desertion, a return to faith and allegiance.

Whether that be so or not, it is intelligible and credible that these men, who cherished the Messianic hope, and had been influenced more or less directly by the Baptist, did accept his witness to Jesus, and did attach themselves to Him with a trust and loyalty which were afterwards sorely tried by the unlikeness of His aims and their wishes, but never altogether failed in the trial. May we not add that it is highly improbable that anything short of a belief in Jesus' Messiahship could have induced the disciples of the Baptist to leave him for another teacher and master.

8. Over these men, thus brought to Him, Jesus aims at gaining a moral and spiritual influence by assuring them both of His intimate knowledge of them, and His gracious feeling towards them. It is as the Searcher of hearts that Jesus draws from Nathanael the full confession of His Messiahship. Yet He is not content that His claims should rest for His disciples on any marvel in His knowledge of them. In the figurative saying with which the conversation closes, He appeals to His sympathetic and representative relation to men, and His constant and intimate communion with God as the highest proof of His claims. May we not discover in these words the endeavour from the very beginning of His intercourse with His disciples to turn their thoughts and wishes from the national, political, secular aspects so prominent in the popular Messianic expectations to the personal, moral, spiritual aspects of His work for men? He speaks to Peter about his character, and to Nathanael about his communion with God. He promises His disciples as the greater things of the future not any earthly conquests, and splendours, but an open heaven, and a ceaseless communication between Himself and God. Were they surprised and disappointed, or was their bewilderment so great, that they could not yet judge whether He was or was not what they had been waiting and hoping for? Already He used His own characteristic title for

Himself, which partly disclosed, partly concealed His claims. If there was in this early Judæan ministry more confidence and less caution than in the later Galilean, if in the enthusiasm and energy of His first attempts to fulfil His vocation He made greater ventures in testing the readiness of others to welcome Him than He afterwards did, yet we may discover, if we look more closely at the record, that from the first He recognized the need of concealment as well as disclosure, and that, therefore, the contrast between the Johannine and the Synoptic representations is not so absolute as it is often made out to be.

9. One feature in the narrative which claims closer scrutiny is the insight into the character of Peter, and the experience of Nathanael, which Jesus displays. Are we to describe it as supernatural knowledge, or not? To deny the limitation of Jesus' knowledge is to reduce the Incarnation to a mere semblance, even although what boasts itself the strictest orthodoxy is most prone to this form of Docetism. We have no right to proceed on the assumption that Jesus knew all the thoughts and all the feelings of all the persons with whom He came into contact; and it is our duty as far as we can to find an explanation for His insight into the minds and hearts of others without this assumption. Nevertheless we should be prepared to admit, if a candid examination of the records demands the admission, that even as Jesus had a supernatural endowment of power to heal the bodies of men, so He had a supernatural endowment of knowledge to be used in His dealings with their souls. That Jesus knew Simon's name is not to be regarded as a miracle, since Andrew had probably told Jesus a good deal about his brother before setting out to bring him to Jesus. Jesus' call of Philip need not involve any supernatural knowledge of his condition, as Andrew and Peter were his fellow-townsmen, and could tell Jesus of his fitness and readiness. But it does seem that Jesus' words to Peter

and Nathanael do show a knowledge of them which cannot be explained by common insight, even when heightened by exceptional sympathy. As Peter approached Jesus, there came to Him an intuition, given Him by His Father, both of what the man now was, and of what he afterwards would become. We need not suppose that Jesus never saw Nathanael with the bodily eye under the fig-tree, but only beheld Him in that position in spiritual vision. But the passing glance He had cast on Nathanael was accompanied by an intuition of His spiritual condition, to which He appealed in justification of the words of commendation which He addresses to him. In each case the intuition was necessary to enable Jesus to offer the greeting which He did, and in each case too we are further warranted in assuming there was the need of doubt being met or faith being won by such a proof of knowledge. This power was not given to relieve Jesus of the necessity of using means for gaining knowledge, for He used such means. Its constant exercise would have been a refusal of the conditions of the Incarnation. Only when necessary for securing influence over others was it given and used. It is surely noteworthy, that Jesus, as soon as He can, turns away attention from the supernatural knowledge, which had so impressed Nathanael. He does not want His disciples to see in Him a marvel of knowledge or of power; He wants them to see in Him One who is in most intimate relation and closest sympathy with them, but who also, while on earth, is in unbroken intercourse with God in heaven. His fraternal consciousness towards men and His filial consciousness towards God, that is the thing greater than His supernatural knowledge.

10. May we not even go a step further in the interpretation of this saying? It is as the Son of Man that He thus knows men. The condition of receptivity for the supernatural endowment of knowledge was the human sympathy

which He had already displayed in His generous judgment and His gracious treatment of the disciples. Only One who loved with a love unto self-sacrifice could be entrusted with the secrets of other hearts. Only One who made the life of others His own care and burden, and gave Himself freely for their good, could claim the right thus to invade the sanctuary of another personality. A selfish man, endowed with such a hold over others as such knowledge would give, would be a terror and a menace to all. Because Jesus had accepted the vocation of Saviour through self-sacrifice, therefore did God enrich Him with this gift of insight. This sympathy with men in turn had its source in His union with God. Hearts were laid bare to Him, because heaven was open. The angels of His insight could pass in and out of the souls of men, because the angels of His aspiration were ever rising towards God, and the angels of God's satisfaction in Him were ever coming down to His spirit. It was as God's Son that He was man's brother. The Infinite's participation and satisfaction in the life of the finite finds its highest and fullest expression and exercise in the human sympathy of the Son of Man, and the supernatural knowledge which that sympathy for its beneficent ends could, when necessary, command. This endowment is not to be regarded as an inexplicable marvel ; it may be understood as an essential factor in the self-disclosure of God to man in the God-man. In this figurative utterance Jesus lifted His disciples from the lower planes of thought and feeling, on which even the Baptist and they as his followers moved, to the loftier heights of Divine vision and communion, in the clear air of which He Himself ever lived, but in which they needed much teaching and training before they could even breathe.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

IS SECOND PETER A GENUINE EPISTLE TO THE CHURCHES OF SAMARIA?

II.

RELATION TO 1 PETER.

IF 2 Peter stood by itself and did not seem to challenge comparison with the first Epistle (2 Peter iii. 1), there would be fewer objections raised against its composition by the Apostle whose name it bears. But in situation, breadth of interest and range of doctrine, the second Epistle differs so materially from the first, that it is very difficult to believe that they were written to the same readers, somewhat difficult even to acknowledge them as the handiwork of the same author. A close inspection however will reveal subtle marks of the same apostolic ownership.

I. Differences between the two Epistles.

(a) Lexical and of style. The first Epistle is written in good easy Greek with few eccentricities. It is free from anything like pseudo-classicalism, is enriched with figures, and has more quotations from the LXX. woven into its texture than most New Testament books. In 2 Peter the Greek is very curious. It was evidently written by a Hebrew, who often limps in his attempts at Greek style. Many of its sentences are involved, its connexions are at times obscure, its use of particles is meagre, strange expressions are numerous, and there is frequent repetition of phrases and words.¹ Finally, though there are probably two or three direct quotations from the Old Testament and numerous obligations to it, the LXX. does not seem to have been laid under especial contribution.

(b) Doctrine. In 1 Peter the Divine names most frequently employed are "God," "God the Father," "Christ," absolutely as the Messiah, and "Jesus Christ" as an

¹ Dr. Bigg shows that repetition is also characteristic of the style of 1 Peter.

historical person distinct from God the Father. In 2 Peter the designation "Our God and Saviour Jesus Christ" under one article so identifies the two persons that God is known through Jesus Christ the Saviour. Two favourite titles are "the (our) Lord Jesus Christ" alone or with "Saviour" added, the latter of which does not occur in 1 Peter. Again, the work of the Messiah, His sufferings, death and resurrection are enlarged on in 1 Peter. He is the example, the shepherd and bishop of souls. The resurrection is the proof of the glory of the Messiah, the ground of the believer's hope in an eternal inheritance. In 2 Peter the thought of Jesus as the Messiah is not altogether absent (i. 11, 17); but He is regarded chiefly as the revealer of God, dispensing power for life and godliness to those who have a true knowledge of Him. He is their Lord and Saviour, whom they know rather than love as in 1 Peter. There is no reference to His resurrection.

(c) Christian life. Change of situation will partly explain the differences of this nature. The readers of the first Epistle are suffering persecution, which so far is confined to social disabilities but threatens to develop. Hence the sufferings of Christ, both as an example and in their redemptive value, became an important motive in their life. So little is offered by the present that they cast themselves in hope upon the future, which must soon disclose relief when the revelation of Jesus Christ will terminate imminent evils.

In the second Epistle we are face to face with an attack of strategical libertines who offer unstable converts full freedom for sensual pleasure, and lay their fears by extravagant assertions that the return of the Lord to judgment is only a delusion. To counteract such seductive error the Apostle reminds his readers of the certainty of the Lord's return, and bids them grow in knowledge of a living Saviour who alone can give them power for a holy life.

In view of these differences we must infer that both letters were not written to the same circle of readers, for the interval of the few years which at longest can have elapsed between the two Epistles is not sufficient to explain the divergences. It increases the problem of the genuineness of 2 Peter immensely, if we must suppose that after having written a letter influenced by Pauline thought as the first Epistle is, the author sent 2 Peter so free from that type of thought to the same readers, who were confessedly acquainted with the writings of Paul (2 Peter iii. 15). Nor can 2 Peter iii. 1, 2 be regarded as anything but the vaguest description, if indeed it is one at all, of such a ripe fruit of Apostolic Christianity as we possess in the first Epistle.

II. *The Petrine element in 2 Peter.*

Our standard is mainly the first Epistle, the genuineness of which is assumed. The speeches of Peter in Acts, which are usually admitted to contain historical elements of primitive apostolic doctrine, supply some material; and critical research justifies us in regarding the Gospel of Mark as drawn from a Petrine source.

To take the last first. The author claims in 2 Peter i. 16 that he was one of the apostolic eyewitnesses of the most intimate events of our Lord's life, and that in his preaching he set forth the power and parousia of Jesus Christ the Lord. Christ is also possessed of glory and virtue and is a Saviour who has purchased His people (2 Peter i. 3, ii. 1). This is a very fitting description of the Christ of our second Gospel. Mark also, which seems to have served as a framework for the other synoptics, has the transfiguration as one of the chief moments in its history. Throughout Jesus is the strong Son of God, who saves from sin, who gave His life a ransom for many, and who will come again to judgment. The Christ preached to the readers of our Epistle, and in Rome by the Apostle Peter, had been seen in life from the same point of vision.

In Acts also some close parallels with 2 Peter may be observed. If we interpret, as we may with good reason, "a like precious faith with us" (i. 1) of the admission of Samaritan readers to full Christian privilege, equivalents for "the righteousness of God" may be adduced from Acts x. 34, 35, xv. 9, 11, 14. Peter's disclaimer in Acts iii. 12, that he had wrought the miracle "by his own power or godliness" is not dissimilar to 2 Peter i. 3, which states that Jesus Christ is the source of endowment for the believer with all power necessary for life and godliness. In Acts x. 42, 43 Peter declares that Jesus Christ is the Messiah of the prophets, and Judge of living and dead (2 Peter i. 16, 19; iii. 10, 11, 12, 14). In this connexion the similarity between 2 Peter iii. 11, 12 and Acts iii. 19-21 is of peculiar importance, delay in the coming of Christ being attributed in both to lack of repentance. In Acts the appearing of the Lord, when all things shall take on the glory of the Messianic Kingdom, is dependent on the repentance of Israel; 2 Peter represents God as longsuffering towards a perishing world, and wishing that all may repent and so hasten the advent of Him who shall create new heavens and a new earth. This conception may be traced perhaps to a saying of our Lord (Mark xiii. 10; Matt. xxiv. 13, 14). "The early preachers of the Gospel felt that it was in some sense within their power to hasten the end by extending the Kingdom" (Swete). A similar thought as to the longsuffering of God occurs in 1 Peter iii. 20.

1 Peter.

1. (a) Language and style. Inscriptions and papyri have afforded so many parallels in contemporary speech to the language of the New Testament, that it is of little purpose to cite such words as, *ἀναστροφή*, *ἀσέλγεια*, (*ἐπι*)-*χορηγεῖν*, *κοινωνός*, *ἴδιος*, *ἀγαπᾶν*, which are common to both Epistles. More stress may be laid upon the use of *ἀπερῇ* (though we cannot be sure that it is employed in the same

sense in both Epistles), (ἄ)σπιλος καὶ (ἄ)μωμος (ἁμώματος), ἀπόθεις, ἀκαταπαύστους ἁμαρτίας (πέπανται ἁμαρτίας), ψυχὴ of persons, compounds of στηρίζω, τιμή, τίμιος, and the benediction χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη πληθυνθείη.

Like the first Epistle the second contains many figures. The Christian life is a growth and fruitful ; a walk in which some may stumble but which leads into the Eternal Kingdom ; a nomadic existence or pilgrimage. Death is compared with striking a tent or putting off a garment. Prophecy is a light shining in a murky place till daybreak. Apostles are initiated into mysteries. Purchase is the symbol for redemption. The false teachers traffic in souls. Judgment is awake on its journey. Other figures are supplied from nature (ii. 17).

(b) The use of the Old Testament. An author's mind is better indicated by the books from which he draws the strands of his thought even than by direct quotation. Whether the latter comes from the original or the LXX. might depend upon an amanuensis, but a man's favourite authors vouch for his type. In 1 Peter we have this shading, but proportionately much more of the delicate tracing of exact quotation than in 2 Peter. Of the nine or ten instances four are taken from Isaiah, three from Proverbs. The direct quotations in 2 Peter come from Proverbs, Psalms and Isaiah, while the indirect indebtedness to Proverbs and Isaiah is very large. This agreement with Proverbs in both Epistles is the more remarkable, because of the five indubitable quotations from Proverbs in the New Testament three occur in 1 and 2 Peter. The favourite historical example of 2 Peter is Noah and the Flood, which is used twice : this incident is also found in 1 Peter iii. 19, 20 in a unique passage with another note of similarity to 2 Peter iii. 9, to which reference has already been made. The atmosphere and spirit of both Epistles are Hebraic, not Alexandrian.

(c) New Testament. The meagreness of the second Epistle in reminiscence of our Lord's teaching as compared with the first has been urged to its discredit, but if our previous analysis be correct this objection loses most of its force. There is, it is true, much less appreciation of the Epistles of Paul, but from iii. 15 it appears that the orbits of the two Apostles crossed each other, and changed circumstances might have brought these two great lights of that period into the closer conjunction that we find in our first Epistle.¹ The case of the mutual affinities of the two Epistles with Hebrews is striking, for 1 Peter is fully as much *en rapport* with certain features of Hebrews as we have seen 2 Peter to be.

(d) The Book of Enoch. Professor Rendel Harris and Dr. Bigg make out a strong case for the acquaintance of 1 Peter with this book (1 Peter i. 12, 13 ; iii. 19, 20 ; Enoch i. 1, ix. 1, x. 4, 5, 12, 13. EXPOSITOR, Sept. and Nov. 1901). To both Epistles the mysterious underworld and the fall of the angels or the state of their antediluvian offspring, lend a distinctive note. In the second Epistle Enoch is used somewhat more extensively to point the warnings than for doctrine in the first.

2. Doctrine.

(a) Christian facts. Peculiar error, such as the claim of a Simon Magus, would naturally lead a writer to emphasize the fact that Jesus Christ is the true revealer of the Father. He in truth is the Son on whom His good pleasure rests. He also is of surpassing power, Lord of an eternal Kingdom, the Saviour from sin, the Judge of the world. This is the teaching of 2 Peter. But traces of the favourite conception of 1 Peter that Jesus is the Christ are not wanting. In 2 Peter i. 17-21 the argument is to prove that the historical manifestation of Jesus Christ explains Old Testament

¹ Dr. Bigg thinks that the influence of Paul on 1 Peter has been much exaggerated.

prophecy. His is an eternal Kingdom (i. 11) ; the utterance of i. 17, a Messianic declaration. This is especially noticeable in the reading of B, *ὁ ἀγαπητός μου*, a distinctively Messianic title, not merely an epithet of *ὁ υἱός μου* (see J. Armitage Robinson's note on *Ascension of Isaiah* in Hastings' D.B.).

Much difficulty has been occasioned by the omission of references in 2 Peter to the Resurrection, which is central for the thought of the first Epistle and the speeches of Peter in Acts. But its displacement by the Transfiguration may probably be explained by the claim of the false teachers that the Resurrection was a purely spiritual experience. We know that this doctrine had found its way into the Churches of Corinth and Asia Minor by the time that Paul was writing his great Epistles. Possibly also there may have been the beginnings of an error, which afterwards assumed great proportions, that the real Christ left Jesus at the Passion. In either case the Resurrection of our Lord would suit the purpose of our Epistle less than the Transfiguration, which was an anticipatory gleam of the future glory of the Resurrection melting again after a moment into the light of common day. It showed that Jesus, who was full of glory and virtue, was the veritable Messiah possessing a hidden majesty. It explained the power of His miraculous life, and justified His promise of the Parousia. It was a seal of His Lordship and Return which could not be disputed, for He came back from it to human life to teach, work, and suffer, not merely to vouchsafe intermittent glimpses of His glorified body to His disciples as He did after His Resurrection. According to 1 Peter i. 21, the Resurrection conferred supreme glory on Jesus : the incident of 2 Peter i. 17 was an earnest of that permanent splendour.

As in 2 Peter, so in the first Epistle the certainty of the Parousia, and of judgment is insisted on (1 Peter iv. 7, 17) ; and if an impression of greater immediateness is conveyed

in the latter, this may be accounted for by the later date of 1 Peter, and by a more acute crisis in the Church. The belief in the Parousia never vanished from the Apostolic age. Like a white-sailed missioner of succour, it stood in the offing ready to come to the rescue of a beleaguered Church, on which the world might from time to time repeat its attack. The Church constantly found relief from the storm and stress of the present in the conviction, the more intense the suffering the more vivid the certainty, that the Kingdom of Satan could not long continue, that the victorious Return of the Son of Man must be near. Suffering makes the instant Parousia the logic of events in 1 Peter: judgment on sin no less certainly involves the Return in 2 Peter, however distant it may be.

Along with the absence from both Epistles of the Pauline doctrine of the indwelling Christ, is that of the cognate function of the Holy Spirit in the life of the believer for the renewal of his character. But in both there occurs a view of the work of the Spirit which is unique in the New Testament. The Spirit of Christ was in the prophets of the Old Testament impelling them to the utterance of words as to the coming Messiah which they desired to understand, but could not. The picture of the historical Jesus Christ alone gives body to, and renders intelligible, the prophetic foregleams of the Messiah, because the Spirit of God was the same in both dispensations—(1 Peter i. 10-12; 2 Peter i. 19-21).

It must also be admitted that the redemptive work of Christ is much more prominent in the first Epistle than in the second. One reason doubtless is because the actual and threatened suffering of the readers of the first Epistle was a temptation to them, and was rendered reasonable only by the redemptive example of the suffering Messiah. But the same fundamental doctrine is found in 2 Peter ii. 1, and throughout the Epistle Jesus Christ is called the Saviour.

(b) The Christian life. Baptism is of primary importance in both Epistles (1 Peter i. 2, iii. 21; 2 Peter i. 9). It is the supreme crisis in which old sins are cleansed away, to be followed, however, by progressive sanctification and increasing moral character. Growth in grace is essential in both; for life is a new birth from the living seed of the Word of God, and must be nourished by proper food (1 Peter i. 23, ii. 2; 2 Peter i. 8, iii. 18). According to the first Epistle, the believer is granted a gradual unveiling of Jesus Christ, which will culminate in full glory at the Return. According to the second, the Christian life is an advance in the knowledge of the Divine glory and virtue of Jesus Christ, till in the future we become sharers in the Divine nature (see Hort's note on 1 Peter i. 13; 2 Peter i. 3, 4). The duty of Obedience runs through both Epistles like a vibrant note, and it takes its tone from the possession of truth (1 Peter i. 22; 2 Peter ii. 2, 21). It is a law of holy living which brings true freedom (1 Peter i. 15, 16, ii. 16; 2 Peter ii. 19, 21, iii. 11). The chords in the lyre of human character are similar in both—faith (1 Peter ii. 7, 8); virtue (ii. 9); knowledge (iii. 7); self-restraint (ii. 11, 12); endurance (iii. 14, iv. 7); godliness (i. 17, ii. 5, 17); love of the brethren (ii. 17, iii. 8, iv. 8–10); love (ii. 13–25); which are the scale of 2 Peter i. 5–7. Future judgment for the unbeliever haunts the mind of both writers as an awful doom, against which holy conduct is the only preparation (1 Peter i. 17, iv. 7, 8, 17–19; 2 Peter ii. 3, 9, iii. 10–14). A pilgrim in this perishing world, the Christian pitches his tent here only for a season. He is but a resident alien, and the promises of God are to be fulfilled in the eternal Kingdom to come, the incorruptible and unfading inheritance now an object of hope (2 Peter i. 4, 11, 13, 14; 1 Peter i. 1, 4, ii. 11).

In view of the foregoing, it can hardly be denied that there is a very great similarity between these two Epistles.

In fact their teaching is fundamentally of the same type and distinct within the New Testament. However, to explain their remarkable differences we must assume that they were directed to different readers, were written by different secretaries or "interpreters," and that 2 Peter was earlier than 1 Peter. It is impossible to say how much of his own style and expression, moulded by contact with the Apostle Paul, Silvanus may have contributed to the first Epistle. But the fact that Peter employed him to write that letter, and, if tradition be true, had Mark also as his "interpreter," lends much probability to the supposition that he commissioned some Greek-speaking Jewish Christian of Antioch to put into shape the rugged and vigorous thought of our second Epistle. It may be added that Clement of Alexandria mentions another "interpreter" of Peter, Glaucias, whom Basilides claimed as his teacher.

Without going into a thorough discussion of the language, which is rendered unnecessary by the work of Dr. Chase and Professor Bigg, we may draw some inferences as to the writer of the letter. Similarities with Philo, Josephus, and the inscriptions of Asia Minor (see Deissmann's *Bible Studies*) justify us in supposing that he was familiar with the religious thought and expression of the imperial period. As we see from the inscription of Caria, such terms as ἀπερή as applied to the Deity, and θεία δύναμις were current; and possibly the phrase θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως may have been moulded by a stock idea. The frequent inelegancies, solecisms, repetitions, the lack of ease in the use of particles, and the occurrence of Hebraic expressions, along with the examples of religious language which, in Deissmann's judgment, was in vogue in Asia Minor and Syria, support the hypothesis that the writer was a Jewish Christian of Syria, whose Greek, if not native to him, might have been learned in commerce or from cultured Proselytes or Gentile Christians.

R. A. FALCONER.

PSALMS OF THE EAST AND WEST.

II.

IN a former paper we dwelt on the Hebrew Psalter, as poetry of nature and reflection, and on the mystic element contained in it. We also compared it with the modern compilation entitled *Psalms of the West*. Here we propose to consider the Psalms in their liturgical, national, and Messianic aspects, as expressing the sentiment of the Jewish Church and nation. This consideration of "Temple psalmody," forming part of the Jewish ritual after the reorganization of the national worship, will again, as in the previous paper, afford ample opportunities for comparing Semitic and Arian, Jewish and Christian, Eastern and Western modes of religious thought expressed in the language of devotion and devout meditation. The Hebrew Psalms are here regarded in the light of historical records, whilst *Psalms of the West* are considered as compositions reflecting the spirit of cultured humanity in a scientific age, cosmopolitan rather than national, as the epitome of devotion for an intellectual *élite* intended, in the words of the author, to voice "the strivings of present humanity." Regarded from this point of view, we may say generally that whilst the Hebrew Psalter has the quality of true poetry, according to Milton, in being "simple, sensuous, and passionate," the tone of the modern book may be said to be rather intellectual, abstruse and supersensuous; that a certain tone of self-assertion characterizes the ancient book, whereas an accentuated tone of self-regard and self-reverence is the characteristic of the modern book; that dependence upon God predominates in the utterances of the former, and self-determination in the latter; that whereas self-absorption in the Hebrew Psalms is apt to approach the egoism of the Pharisee, the habit of self-

introspection peculiar to modern and Western modes of thought reappears in passages here and there in *Psalms of the West*, which have a savour of the egoism of the Stoic. M. Rénan, indeed, may be too severe in dwelling on the Semitic Egoism displayed in the "I" psalms (as Smend calls them), of which there are some eighty in number. For it has to be remembered that it is the intense strenuousness of the race which the individual writer gives here expression to: that good haters in the opinion of Dr. Johnson make good lovers; that this "intensity of subjective effectiveness" or zeal smacking of intolerant impatience comes from the strength of affection for God and country; that when the writers speak here in their own person, they do so in the name of the community; that if our modern writers are less guilty of zeal without knowledge, they are apt also to be too grandly indifferent and frigidly correct. The hot asseveration of one's own innocency with a presumptive accusation of guilt in adversaries is no doubt an unpleasant trait of Jewish self-assertion. It mostly comes, however, from extreme suffering inflicted by the enemy, and the vehemence of language is produced by a sense of impotence in retaliating. "Suffrance has been the badge of all our race," cries Shylock. It does not excuse, though it explains, the severe imprecations in some of the "Persecution Psalms." It is moreover the tribal self which speaks out of the "I" Psalms; and in them we have the heart utterances of the Jewish Church. In some of the "Passion Psalms," or "Persecution Psalms" (e.g. Psalms xxii., cxxx., cxxxi.) the sadness of sorrow is less violently expressed, and the cries of distress out of the deep have much sweetness and pathos. They breathe too a humble and resigned hopefulness amid the puzzling perplexities of the personal and national life. But besides this there is in these Hebrew lyrics a light shining out of the darkness, a resolute faith which con-

quers fear and despair, an exhibition of resigned gratitude resting with implicit confidence on God, which we look for in vain in modern poetical effusions of this kind.

Take, in the next place, the Penitential Psalms, notably that most perfect specimen of the kind, Psalm li., "The Crown of the second Davidic collection," which forms, as a Jewish expositor reminds us, the basis of the Kyrie Eleyson and the misereres of the dark ages; or Psalm xxxii., which Luther speaks of as a "Pauline Psalm"; or the opening words of Psalm xxxviii., and compare these with the Penitential Psalms of the Chaldeans, or those contained in the Arian Vedas; or again with *Psalms of the West*, such as, for example, Psalm xviii. of the latter collection, in which we find the following confession of sins addressed to the "Leader through the storm of life":

I am poor and tried with sorrow, deep learned in pain's relentless school;

My days have been ill-spent, though I knew thou wast by me; I have been careless of the allotted time thou hast portioned for me in the world;

. . . Thou hast room in thy holiness for the children of imperfection.

Is it possible to deny that the penitential lyrics of the Hebrews express more fully the true contrition of heart and the genuine yearnings after greater perfection as well as the larger hope of renewed Divine favour than any other collection of the kind, old or new?¹ That in their endeavour to solve the problem of expiating guilt and exorcising the powers of evil, the Jewish hymns before us stand first in the sacred literature of the world will scarcely be denied by those who are in a position to make a critical comparison.

¹ See some quotations from the Vedas in Moriz Carrière's *Anfänge der Cultur und das orientalische Alterthum in Religion, Dichtung, und Kunst*, 1. Band, p. 411 et seq., and others from *The Penitential Psalms of the Chaldeans* in the parchment edition of the Psalms by Prof. Cheyne, p. ix. et ante.

If we pass on from the Prayers, or Tephilloth to the Praises, or Tehillim, which give the Psalms their Hebrew title, as songs of thanksgiving for individual or national mercies and deliverances, we note again in them a peculiar charm in the unrestrained elatedness, the happy contentment, the complete abandon of the soul in giving voice to its exuberant joy. This differs widely from the bombastic grandiloquence in which other Eastern nationalities celebrate their victories—"Non nobis domine" is the ground tone of these Hebrew national hymns. It differs still more from the measured, self-restrained, almost stately reticence in which *Psalms of the West* celebrate the triumphs of science, progress, and modern civilization. Compare with these the Hallelujah Psalms, e.g. Psalm cxlvi. or cxlviii.—"Laudate dominum," "the grandest perhaps of all the Hymns of Praise," and put these side by side of any processional hymns in our modern collections, and it will be noticed that there is something more real and heart-stirring in the reverberating sound of joy and thanksgiving in these Hebrew Psalms, where God is "enthroned in the praises of Israel," than in the more carefully studied, if not artificial, style of Western and modern hymnology.

If we turn to those Psalms of the East and West which are concerned with political and social subjects, to use modern terms, the contrast is still more pronounced. In those Psalms where we have plaintive dirges bemoaning national reverses (see Psalms xxviii., xxxi., xxxv., xli., and notably lxxx.), as in the kindred group of Psalms, the Pharisæical war songs of which Psalm xvii. is a type, we have the battle cries of zealous fighters for God, zealous of the national religion, pronouncing severe strictures on those compatriots who in their worldly wisdom and proclivities make dangerous compromises, bringing the Jewish faith into jeopardy. In these Psalms we note the antagonism

between the more devout and the more secular sections of the Jewish community, as for example in Psalm lxviii., "Let God arise," etc. The "Royal Psalms," which treat of "the things concerning the King, such as Psalm xxi., which commences "The King shall rejoice," and which in his parchment edition Professor Cheyne invites us to compare with a similar Assyrian prayer for the king; Psalm lxi., which contains a prayer for the long life of the king, or Psalm ci., which presents us with a picture of an ideal head of a theocratic kingdom, a *Regentenspiegel*, as Duhm, following Bickell, calls it, and in which he sees an allusion to a high priest, invested with royal dignity; and, if we may add Psalm cx. 1-4, where he conjectures that Simon the Asmonæan is alluded to because it is an acrostic bearing his name, all these are references to the national history, obscure no doubt, and difficult to fix with anything like certainty, but at the same time exhibiting the special traits of national character at a given epoch of their history, and, therefore, of the greatest value from an ethnological point of view.

We have not here, indeed, the productions of Hebrew poets-laureate, or specimens of court poetry like those of the Persian poets written in honour of their monarchs, or of western minstrels of a later date celebrating the deeds of royal heroes, still less "party pamphlets," as some hold, naming Psalm cx., as a typical instance. We have rather here the effusions of lyrical poets sensitive to all national impulses and carried away in the full tide of national enthusiasm, expressing the hopes and fears of their countrymen. And what is most remarkable is the fact pointed out and enlarged upon by Professor Grau in his monograph on *Semiten und Indogermanen in ihrer Beziehung zu Religion und Wissenschaft*, that some of the finest psalms owe their origin to national reverses, whereas the occasional pieces in *Psalms of the West*, which deal with national subjects

are inspired by national successes and imperialistic expansion. The Hebrew psalms seem in this way to anticipate the great principle enounced later by Him whom the Roman Governor called the King of the Jews: "My kingdom is not of this world." The genius of the nation was not to build up empires; man is not, as with the Greek philosopher and the tutor of Alexander, a "political animal"; in the Jewish mind he is the image of God, a member of a Theocracy—that great future world-empire—whose builder and maker is God. On the other hand the future of society attracts the author of *Psalms of the West*. Here we have a devout hope expressed that love and wisdom may go forth to "transform social iniquity into a law of human lovingkindness," that "the deep distress of a multitude shall not endure in an age of pity." Social problems give rise to corresponding thoughts and the pious hope of social improvement, "that the people may comprehend the power of wisdom, that skill and temperance may uplift them; stern industry and self-conquest shall make them a nation of victors." These are accompanied by aspirations natural enough in an age of science and industrial as well as mental activity. Here the "Gospel of work" is preached in season and out of season, as when the Western Psalmist exclaims:

"Labour shall be our supplication, knowledge our form of worship, a true heart our thanksgiving, led by the spirit of eternal life.

"Then shall all men understand their work; there shall be no more doubt in such a faith; for it shineth in the circumference of everlasting law."

In all this there is much that would puzzle the mind of the Hebrew Psalmists, whose social environment suggests aims of a totally different character. In them we have rather the intensity of national feeling, the fervid sentiment of "faithful Israel," occupied with the communal sufferings and sorrows of the people of God. In this sense

the 137th Psalm, commencing "By the waters of Babylon," has been called a "dramatic idyl," composed by a temple singer sympathetically identifying himself with his exiled countrymen, as per contra Psalms xli. and xlviii. have been mentioned as written during the ferment produced by the overthrow of the Persian Empire by Alexander.

There are, again, some Psalms more in the nature of "spiritual songs" where we note the educative influence of national misfortunes in cultivating "inwardness," e.g. in Psalm cii., which contains the prayer of "the afflicted" pouring out his complaint before God, but speaking for the whole people with them experiencing the chastening effects of adversity.

As popular national lyrics the psalms have their limitations, their horizon is the narrow boundary which separates them from the great world beyond. Thus in the "Psalms of Ascent," or Pilgrimage Psalms (Psalms cxv.-cxxxiv.) in use for those going up to Jerusalem, we have something of this national particularism. But, as we have already pointed out previously, what we lose in width of view we gain in intensity of enthusiasm. In the most touching manner they express the communings of the soul with God. In others, which from the occurrence in them of the name of Joseph are called Joseph Psalms (lxxvii., lxxviii., lxxix., lxxx., lxxxi.), we have a "fine monument of Pan-Israelitish sentiment . . . preoccupied with the thought that Judah alone cannot represent all Israel."

In the "Guest Psalms" (xv., xxiv. 1-6, xxvii. 1-6, xxiii., xxxix.) the security of Jehovah's guests under His own roof, i.e. within the temple precincts, is celebrated. In xxxix., the writer declares himself to be a stranger and sojourner, given up to silent grief with a burning volcano within ready to burst out, but repressed by a better hope of ultimate deliverance.

In all these congregational hymns we have the expression

of the collective consciousness of the Church, of national Jewish sentiment, addressed to the tutelary Deity, patriotic songs rarely taking a "wider sweep," and falling far short of the Cosmopolitan outlook that we are accustomed to find in modern and Western compositions of a kindred character. Yet, though far from cosmopolitan, some of these Psalms are thoroughly human, when, in the words of Wellhausen, "the specific Israelitish way of looking at things is lost in the universal," as in the 90th Psalm, which for this reason has been called the funeral hymn of the world. For in its truthful portraiture of the frailty and transitoriness of human life it appeals to the spirit of man everywhere and in all ages.

If anywhere the cosmopolitan temper of mind is present to any extent, it is so in the Messianic Psalms, and on them we will dwell for a moment before we conclude. The Psalter has been called the "Messianic book of the Old Testament," and Psalm lxxxvii. "the great lyric of universalism." In it Jerusalem figures as the "spiritual metropolis" of an ideally catholic Church of the future, whilst in the 2nd Psalm the Messiah speaks of Himself as "the incarnation of Israel's universal rule." The mission of Israel is that of a Messianic people, as such destined to proclaim the one true God among the nations, whilst in the "Royal Psalms" the coming universal reign of righteousness is celebrated as the golden age of Messiah (see Psalms xcii., xcv.); "the righteous shall flourish" under His rule in the great restoration period to which these Psalms point. Thus it appears that the Eastern Utopia is a theocratic commonwealth and the converted Gentiles are incorporated with it. The God of Israel will be exalted over all the inhabited globe, *and the whole earth* filled with His glory (see close of Psalm lxxii.). As Professor M. Carrière shows, to Israel, in whom he says Semitism has reached its highest point spiritually and historically, the

task is reserved of promulgating the idea of God as the supreme Ruler of the universe and its Divine lawgiver. This is the part assigned to Israel in the promotion of early culture. In *Psalms of the West* we have "the soft breath of hope" in the final triumph of human civilization, when lawlessness shall cease and every man shall become a law unto himself, when selfish strife shall cease and "the order of the Eternal" shall reign over all. Here "the purpose of infinity" shall be finally attained, when out of the chaos of conflicting faiths "the world-cathedral shall arise from the bounty of all seas and lands"; the music of its service shall be "the unity of love in sacrifice." In another place the Western Psalmist sees a nation arise where "the Captains of Industry" are of "noble skill in all manner of work, and of high thought for the good of brethren under every star," in which "factions and parties were turned into one cause, the transformation of evil to good, the first duty of every man, the great reform, the regeneration of himself," and as a result of this the final consummation.

"The people of the world beheld the universe and there were no strangers in all the heavens."

If then we have in the Psalms the devout musings and noble anticipations of pious Israelites, if the Psalter is in fact a monument of the best religious ideas of the Jewish Church, and if, moreover, in *Psalms of the West* we have an adequate statement of the hopes and beliefs of modern thinkers, we may, after the foregoing survey of their respective views, ask—

Firstly, which of the two most fitly expresses national aspirations? *secondly*, which is best adapted to inspire universal philanthropy? *thirdly*, which of them presents us with the most captivating picture of the Church and Society of the future?

1. As to the first, there are few compositions more profoundly expressive of national sorrow or joy than the

Psalms, or of the spirit of hope under dire calamities which have befallen the nation. Take, e.g., Psalms lviii. and lix. ! The former has been called the most melancholy of all the Psalms, and the superscription which Baethgen puts over it is "the prayer of despondency"; whilst the next Psalm, although likewise a cry of distress, has, as the same writer shows, for its central idea the great Messianic hope of national deliverance. So, too, the Accession Psalms, as in Psalms xcvi. and c., with which the series concludes, celebrate in stirring strains contemporary national triumphs, or anticipations of future national expansion. The expression of national feeling here is not excelled by any productions in Eastern or Western poetry dealing with the same subjects.

2. In the next place comes the question whether the Psalms adequately enforce, as undoubtedly *Psalms of the West* do, the spirit of universal philanthropy. Is it true that Semitism is so narrow in its egotism as to be incapable of feeling for other nations, or entertaining the idea of a universal brotherhood, which we are told is the product of the Arian mind exclusively? In answer to this it cannot be denied that "Jewish Catholicity" is to some extent limited; still there are passages here and there in the Psalms, e.g. in Psalm lxxxvii. already referred to, and of which Mr. Montefiore, in his Bible for Home Reading, says that it prefigures "the highest hopes of an enlightened Judaism to-day," which open a wider vista, and in which the world is invited to join the praises of God: "Let the people praise thee, O Lord; let *all* the people praise thee!"

But it is in their appeal to the universal heart that these Hebrew lyrics prove their true catholicity, since from the commencement of the Christian era they have served for giving expression to the devout sentiments of the whole Christian world. They have furnished the ground tone to

Latin psalmody in its aspiring fervour and mystical ardour. One of the celebrated women of the Renaissance, Louise de Savoy, on rising in the morning read a psalm "pour embaumer la journée"; the 32nd Psalm was a favourite of St. Augustine and Diane de Poitiers, as the 6th was of Catherine de Medici; the 68th Psalm became a Huguenot battle song and it was chanted by Savonarola and his brother Dominicans on their way to the grand piazza at Florence for the fiery trial that awaited him there. C. Wesley's last hymn was inspired by Psalm lxxiii., and Alexander von Humboldt loved the 104th Psalm as a hymn of Nature. Mrs. Symonds, the wife of J. A. Symonds, tells her husband that the Psalms came into her head all through a long day in the Alps, and M. Rénan himself makes the confession that in the hours of doubt "I recite the Psalms." Here, indeed, we have a *consensus mundi*. The Psalms of the East are chanted in that very "cathedral of souls" imagined by the Western Psalmist. In his cathedral there are other chants indeed besides "Peace and wisdom began to descend upon mankind as they built their Church of humanity, the stones of which were the hearts of saints." It is a fine vision of the future, though somewhat vague in outline, grand in its placid calm, noble in aspect, a cathedral in marble, but untouched by the warm sun of fervid feeling, and in which the subdued murmur of many voices is not heard above a whisper; the chill of doubt is felt within its walls—a faithful transcript indeed of modern Western thought, uninspired by the glow of religious enthusiasm, expressing the lisped possibilities of meditative surmise, but unable to utter the rich tones of a lively faith, of sanguine hope, and all-absorbing love.

3. In the last place, which of the two, Psalms of the East or of the West, contain the more perfect Utopia? The assumed absence of epic poetry in Hebrew literature is sometimes referred to as indicating the inferiority of the Semitic

as contrasted with the Arian mind, with its *Thatendurst* commemorating the great deeds of the past. But a compensation has been discovered in the fact that whereas the Indogermanic mind traces its history backwards to the golden age in the past, the Semitic mind stretches forward into the future. Without staying to examine the accuracy of this difference, which is open to criticism both ways, we may point to the Psalms as presenting us with a picture of a social edifice erected on a sacred foundation with a superstructure reared upon it under the superintendence of the Divine Architect of the universe which leaves little to be desired. As the product of the national mind of a simple people whose social and political philosophy was of a somewhat crude nature it compares favourably with the much more ambitious attempts of social architecture in more recent times. Nay, in our latter-day Utopias we may trace that tendency of the Hebrew mind to evolve social ideals to which must be ascribed the fact that most of the intellectual leaders and prominent representatives of modern socialism are Jews either by birth or extraction.

True, for a stately view of organized law, of civic freedom, toleration, and noble bearing under social pressure, or bold attempts to grapple with social problems, we turn to *Psalms of the West* informed by sociological science, promising "a far off, a brighter abode for man," when "the command of the future is quietness and order" and "the law of humanity will accord with the wisdom of love." All this, as the ultimate result of social evolution and the slow advance of social science. But the social ideal, as the offspring of the modern mind, grand as it is, suggests at the same time an all but insurmountable difficulty in the way of its final realization, namely, the selfishness and infirmity which ever frustrates the working out of his destiny of average man.

In the Hebrew Utopia God is the great Master Builder. The predominating idea here is the final establishment of the reign of righteousness on earth by His power. It brings before our minds the vision of the kingdom of God which thence entered into the mind of the Christian world and has served ever since in modelling and modifying the social ideas of modern civilization. It is in the Psalms, these "lofty hymns divine," that we have the earliest indication of that universal empire of which the Jewish Church and nation were to form the nucleus and which since has been further developed into an all-comprehensive idea of a universal society founded on Christianity as a world religion.

If the Psalms, as Hengstenberg says finely, serve as a book of devotion to freshen up the image of God in an unbelieving age, they will also, in an age of agnostic doubt and pessimistic apprehension, help to cheer up men in their efforts of social amelioration, they will serve as an inspiring influence much needed in our modern social aims by inculcating obedience to the Divine laws of justice and mercy. Containing, as they do, the consolations of Divine philosophy, they will brace up the hearts and minds of those who, disappointed by results, or wearied by vague and vain attempts to solve social problems, would otherwise succumb. In this way they are still capable of lifting up the soul depressed by failure in schemes for social improvement and of giving full expression to the elatedness of spirit which accompanies every successful attempt to ease human suffering or to alleviate human sorrow. For this and similar reasons applying to the whole aspect of man's life, individually and collectively, the Psalter still holds its place as the *facile princeps* among its ancient and modern competitors as the Enchiridion of saints.

M. KAUFMANN.

TARTAROS NOT HADES.

THE interest attaching to the word Tartaros is not made less by the circumstance that it occurs only once in the New Testament (2 Pet. ii. 4). Rather we are made curious to inquire why the writer is not satisfied with the more usual word Hades. I believe it is because he is speaking of fallen angels and not of deceased men. Tartarus is not Hades, and is not accessible from Hades. Hades is the underworld, but Tartarus is the nether heaven. This distinction—to recognize which is the first step to a proper understanding of the passage—is not always made. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* confounds the two places together by stating that "elsewhere in the New Testament Hades is used of the place of torment," and giving this passage as an instance. The Revised Version does the same by giving Hell as the rendering of Tartarus in this passage, and of Gehenna in Matthew v. 29. Rosenmuller and others regard the spirits in prison as the souls of men detained in Hades.

Contrary to this, as men dwelt on the face of the earth, their souls after death went to the lower parts of the earth, while angels banished from heaven went to the lower hemisphere of the skies. Let us make two concentric circles—a small one for the earth, a large one round it for the heavens—and we shall see well enough what is meant. The ancients did not always think the earth was flat—at least not all the ancients. It is admitted that Copernicus did but revise the theory of the Pythagoreans. They did not know the height of the heavens, and they had not circumnavigated the earth to learn what was on the other side; but they had reasoned out the truth that the earth "hangs upon nothing" with a starry sky all round. Because Hades was the under side of the earth, Orpheus was able

to go thither to Eurydice, and Ulysses was able to sail thither across the zone of water called Oceanus. There was land beyond that backward-flowing stream, and yet that land was the underworld. At first it was thought of as dark, and all its symbols were black; but in later time it became known that the sun visited that sky, as though to judge the dead. "Down" there the under sky was still distant, so that if a brazen anvil took nine days to fall from heaven to earth, it would take nine more to reach the bed of Tartarus (Hesiod, *Theog.* 722; comp. *Iliad*, viii. 13). But just as men could go from the upper parts of the earth to the lower, so it was conceivable that angels should go from high heaven to Tartarus, travelling along their own proper circumference. Mr. Gladstone recognizes that in Homer Aides seems to be for men, and Tartarus for departed or condemned immortals (*Juventus Mundi*, p. 374). If our explanation is right, Tartarus cannot be reached from Hades; at least not more readily than heaven can be reached from earth.

According to 2 Peter ii. 4 the fallen angels are in Tartarus. We may compare Jude 6. But Professor J. Rendel Harris is right in bidding us consult the Book of Enoch. In Enoch there is a large element of astronomy, e.g. chap. lxxi., and the lawless angels are associated with seven stars. In ancient time every orb had its angelic guardian, and even so modern an astronomer as Kepler believed the planets to be carried round by such Intelligences.

In Enoch xviii. 14-16 the Seer is shown "the prison of the stars" which transgressed the commandment of God by not coming in their proper season. In xxi. 3 he "makes a circuit" and comes to a place where the seven criminal stars are bound. And in lxxxix. 33 it is the stars which are judged and found guilty and consigned to a place of punishment.

The reference seems to be to stars which had changed

their declination through the precession of the equinoxes. While in reality the conical movement of the earth's axis brings it to point to a new pole-star, the appearance is as though the old pole-star had forsaken its place. Contemporaneously, and by virtue of the same movement, the star which had marked the autumnal equinox would pass downward (to Tartarus) and cease to be a guide to men. Ancient record speaks of seven such; and it is the angels of these stars which the Book of Enoch describes as not keeping their first estate. They were the spirits in prison. Enoch after his translation to Heaven might visit them; but Tartarus was not accessible from Hades.

GEORGE ST. CLAIR.

RECENT OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE.

As the previous volumes of Prof. McCurdy's *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*¹ have been noticed in these pages, we need say nothing as to its general character. The present and concluding volume includes the period from the accession of Josiah to the eve of the return from the Exile; it maintains the high standard of excellence reached in the former parts of the book. We may note his views on matters still in dispute amongst critics. Josiah's law book comprised substantially Deuteronomy xii.-xxvi.; it was a new and enlarged edition of the *Book of the Covenant*, and was composed shortly before its publication. As against Driver and others our author holds that Jeremiah had no share in the composition or enforcement of Deuteronomy; but he follows Cornill in accepting the bulk of the book of Jeremiah, including xxx. f., as the work of the prophet. An eloquent exposition of the book of Habakkuk is based on views rejected by many critics; the order of paragraphs in the Masoretic Text is accepted; the first two chapters are explained as showing how the sin of Judah will be punished by the Chaldeans, who will be punished in their turn; and the psalm in the last chapter is held to be the work of Habakkuk. Of the Law of Holiness (Lev. xvii.-xxvi.) we read: "We may assume that it was intended as a law book for the new Jerusalem of Ezekiel, and written by a pupil of that priest-prophet in the latter half of the Exile." As regards the book of Isaiah the following portions are dated during the Exile (xiii. 1-xiv. 23, xxi. 1-10, xxxiv. f., and xl.-lv.). Prof. McCurdy follows Tiele and Kosters in rejecting the theory that because Cyrus is spoken of as king of the Elamite province of Auzan, he was therefore an Elamite; on the contrary, Auzan had been con-

¹ Macmillan.

quered by the Persians, and was ruled by a branch of the Achæmenian dynasty. It is also maintained, as against Sayce, that Cyrus was a loyal Zoroastrian, and that his patronage of other religions was due to an enlightened tolerance. Here and elsewhere our author is too ready to credit his characters with modern ideas. Cyrus, no doubt, held that it was legitimate for different nations to follow different religions; and his policy in this respect was followed by his successors.

The treatment of some of the earlier literature had been reserved for the section which dealt with Deuteronomy and the structure and sources of the Pentateuch. Here the reign of Solomon is spoken of as a great literary period, represented in the Old Testament by the blessing of Jacob (Gen. xlix.), some of the sayings in *Proverbs*, and perhaps some other fragments. While accepting the lament over Saul and Jonathan as David's, Prof. McCurdy writes (p. 51): "It is with reluctance that any good son of the church relinquishes the belief in Davidic psalms. But many considerations combine to make such a belief impossible."

The close of the Exile is as satisfactory a *terminus ad quem* as any before the fall of Jerusalem; it has the great advantage of evading the intricate controversy as to the Return. There are, however, references to this event in view of which some mention should have been made of Koster's theories; but this defect will no doubt be remedied in the sequel which we hope will be given us.

We must congratulate Prof. McCurdy on the successful conclusion of a great task. We have had translations and textbooks on Old Testament History; but now we have what we may call a library history by an English-speaking writer, that is abreast of the information of our time. This work is the successor of Stanley's *Jewish Church*; doubtless this is a very different book; Stanley's dramatic instincts and love of the picturesque led him to produce a literary

masterpiece rather than a scientific history, while our author's method makes more exacting demands on his readers. Whatever advantages there may be in the modern plan of accumulating in one volume an account of economics, social life, literature, religion, and politics, it certainly does not make history more readable. Nevertheless the serious student will find Prof. McCurdy not only informing but also interesting.

A melancholy interest attaches to *Messages of the Old Testament*; ¹ it is a memorial volume whose incompleteness makes it all the more suitable to its purpose. The author, the late Rev. G. H. C. Macgregor, M.A., had planned a course of sermons, each of which was to set forth the chief messages of some one book of the Old Testament; but his plans were frustrated by his early death, so that the work before us only deals with the historical books from *Genesis* to *Chronicles*, and with *Joel*. There is much that is suggestive in these sermons, and they are a valuable addition to devotional literature. Moreover they have an important bearing on controversies as to the Bible. They are written with a full knowledge, and considerable acceptance, of modern criticism; nevertheless the author is in no way embarrassed either by what he accepts, or by what he implicitly rejects. The book is a striking illustration of the fact that the spiritual teaching of the Bible has nothing to lose, and much to gain from criticism. One sentence is most suggestive; our author explains that the composite authorship of the historical books is obvious, and that *Genesis* is no exception. Then he adds, "We learn this on the authority of *Genesis* itself. It only needs a very small measure of study to put the matter together beyond doubt" (p. 4). This principle is sound and far-reaching; it amounts to this: the results of criticism are learnt from accurate study of the Bible; they are the testimony of the

¹ Hodder & Stoughton.

Bible, that is of Divine Revelation, as to the origin and composition of the various books, just as the valid deductions of geology are the true interpretation of the voice of God speaking through Nature as to the processes by which our globe was formed. Prefixed to these sermons there is an enthusiastic appreciation of their author by the Rev. F. B. Meyer; the readers of this book will share his regret for the premature loss of so gifted a teacher.

Prof. R. G. Moulton's *Short Introduction to the Literature of the Bible*¹ is not an abridgement of his *Literary Study of the Bible*; the earlier and larger work was intended for formal students; but the present book is addressed to the general reader. It is the work of a literary interpreter pursuing his path undisturbed by the theologian, the historian, or the critic. We may perhaps describe it as a series of able essays on the English Version of the Bible considered purely as literature. It excludes the discussion of such topics as date, authorship, and mode of composition; in fact, nearly everything that Prof. Driver deals with under the title, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*.

In *The Old Testament and the New Scholarship*,² Dr. J. P. Peters, rector of St. Michael's, New York, gives us groups of suggestive, but rather discursive essays on topics more or less connected with the subject described by his title. He deals with the doctrine concerning the Bible; with its development, illustrated at length by the history of the Psalter; and with *Archæology and the Bible*, similarly illustrated by *Daniel*. His critical principles are substantially those of Prof. G. A. Smith. We may note two or three points. On page 39 we read, "The newer criticism lays its special emphasis on the Incarnation; you might almost say that it is a protest against a prevalent but

¹ Isbister & Co., 1901.

² Methuen, *The Churchman's Library*, 1901.

ancient disbelief in the Incarnation." Elsewhere it is pointed out that if archaeology could establish the integrity and Homeric authorship of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and also show that these poems give us an accurate picture of the manners and customs of the times they describe, we should not therefore accept them as history. There are also comments on the absurdity of the statement sometimes made that archaeology has upset the conclusions of Biblical criticism.

We have also received *Sermons on Isaiah*,¹ by J. F. B. Tinling, B.A., a volume of the *Sermon Seed Series*, a useful collection of 150 outlines of sermons by noted preachers, ranging from F. W. Robertson to Dr. Talmage; *Genesis*² in the *Bible for the Young*, by Dr. J. Paterson Smyth, a set of suggestive notes for Sunday School teachers; and *The Mosaic Account of Creation Verified by Science*,³ by George Dickison, who finds in Genesis i., ii., three distinct accounts of "three great creative events": in i. 1, the initial creation of sun and stars, "possibly hundreds of millions of years ago"; in i. 2-ii. 3, the putting of the earth in order, the original creation of plants, animals, and man, and the institution of the Sabbath, "probably . . . something like one million of years ago," and finally, in ii. 4 ff., the renovation of the earth, apparently after some catastrophe, and "the creation of the Adamic race, and the greater part of the plants and animals that are now in existence."

W. H. BENNETT.

¹ Hodder & Stoughton.

² Sampson Low, Marston & Co.

³ Elliot Stock.

SURVEY OF RECENT ENGLISH LITERATURE ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE Rev. Walter Wynn, in *The Apostle Paul's Reply to Lord Halifax* (Elliot Stock), renders a much-needed service. He takes up the Epistle to the Galatians, and, commenting upon it verse by verse, he shows how at every point it explodes ritualistic and extreme High Church claims. It may here and there offend taste by a certain brusqueness or jauntiness of style, but there is a thread of truth and sense in the exposition which ought not to be disregarded. The difficulty is to find access for such books into the quarters where they are chiefly needed.

Hard Sayings of Jesus Christ: a Study in the Mind and Method of the Master, is the title of a series of sermons by the Rev. W. L. Grane, Bexhill-on-Sea, published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co. They are sensible and lucid expositions of some passages in the Sermon on the Mount and other discourses of our Lord. They may be read with interest and instruction, and they indicate that sounder methods of interpretation are coming into vogue. Mr Grane manifests very considerable skill in penetrating to the spirit of Christ's sayings and escaping the snare of literal interpretation.

The posthumous work of the late Archbishop of Canterbury on *The Apocalypse* has been issued by Messrs. Macmillan. It will not permanently affect the interpretation of that book, but it contains much interesting material, and an occasional flash of insight reveals how serious a study one of the busiest of men had made of one of the most difficult books of Scripture.

The Theology of the New Testament, by Prof. G. B. Stevens, of Yale, forms a notable contribution to Messrs. Clark's International Theological Library. It has the advantage of being written subsequently to the works of Baur, Weiss, Beyschlag, and Holtzmann, and it is more satisfactory than any of them. It is well written, inspiring, candid, and free from all extravagance, either of conservatism or of liberalism. Thoroughly informed, it is also calm, reverent, and independent, singularly free from prejudice, yet alive in every page. It is a great gain to our literature to be in possession of a book which can without reserve be recommended to students.

There comes also from America another contribution to New Testament Theology, which, if not so entirely satisfactory as

that of Prof. Stevens, will yet take a foremost place for skill in arrangement, knowledge of its subject, and strength of treatment. We refer to Prof. Gilbert's *Revelation of Jesus* (the Macmillan Co.). This is one of the most remarkable expositions of the teaching of our Lord that has come under our notice, and will win its way into colleges as a textbook. Its arrangement fits it for this use, and its compact and vigorous treatment of the important topics with which it deals is attractive and serviceable. The doctrine of Christ's person favoured by Prof. Gilbert is scarcely in harmony with traditional beliefs.

Prof. Charles' *Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity* (Adam & Charles Black) is a work of importance. It is the result, as we are told in the preface, "of studies begun over twelve years ago, and pursued unremittingly for the past ten." How diligently and with what good fruit Prof. Charles has studied the Jewish Apocalyptic literature the public has reason to know. In this department of research he speaks with an authority no other scholar can claim. The same thoroughness and scientific method which have distinguished his Apocalyptic studies he now carries into the examination of canonical literature. Here, however, it will generally be felt, he too freely ascribes to our Lord the same liability to error which he found characterizing the Apocalyptists. At the same time it must be acknowledged that his treatment of the extremely thorny subject of New Testament eschatology is not only ingenious and rigidly scientific, but also highly suggestive and likely to influence the course of subsequent thought.

Messrs. Black issue another work of considerable interest, Dr. Percy Gardner's *Exploratio Evangelica*, or, as it is described in the alternative title, a brief examination of the basis and origin of Christian belief. Dr. Gardner writes in the interests, or what he believes to be the interests, of Christianity. He is of opinion that by basing itself on history the Christian faith is insecure, while it is quite possible to give it absolute security by building it on a psychological foundation. Unfortunately, Dr. Gardner, in order to make good his contention, has considered it necessary to demolish the historical evidence for the miraculous and for the leading events in the life of our Lord. The criticism by which he attempts this work of destruction will not be homologated by any large body of scholars. And in our opinion his work would have

been more effective, even for his own purpose, had he not excluded historical evidence so completely. Is it necessary to set history and psychology over against one another as alternatives? Nay, is it not incredible that they should be antagonistic?

Pro Christo et Ecclesia is published anonymously by Messrs. Macmillan. Roughly speaking, it is a study of Pharisaism. "If the drama which we call the Gospel is of importance at all, it is surely here that its fullest meaning lies; for this contest between Jesus and the Pharisee is its most salient feature; this contrast between the God-man and the religious purist its warp and woof." But the little book is of wisdom and insight all compact, and it is written in a style of absolute purity. It must be read by all who seek clearer light on our Lord's relation to the religion of His time. It is remarkably instructive and inspiring.

Dr. George Matheson, in his *Studies of the Portrait of Christ* (Hodder & Stoughton), also throws much light on the figure depicted in the Gospels. He selects the most significant incidents in the life, and from them illustrates the method and purpose and character of Jesus. It is a work of genius, with all the rich suggestiveness and a little of the inexactness of such a work.

We have received the *American Journal of Theology*, the *Journal of Theological Studies*, the *Critical Review*, the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, the *Jewish Quarterly*, the *Classical Review*, the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, *Good Words* and the *Sunday Magazine*.

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ST. PAUL.

THE fascination of St. Paul's personality lies in his humanity. He is the most human of all the Apostles.

That he was in many ways the ablest and the greatest, the most creative mind, the boldest originator, the most skilful organizer and administrator, the most impressive and outstanding personage in the whole Apostolic circle—that will be admitted by most readers. That he was the most clever and the most brilliant of the Apostles every one must feel. But all that might be granted, without bringing us any nearer an explanation of the undying interest and charm he possesses for us. Those are not the qualities which make a man really interesting, which catch the heart of the world, as Paul has caught it. The clever man is, on the whole, rather repellent to the mass of mankind, though he will find his own circle of friends who can at once admire his ability and penetrate to the real nature underneath his cleverness. But St. Paul lies closer to the heart of the great mass of readers than any other of the Apostles; and the reason is that he impresses us as the most purely and intensely human of them all.

The career of St. Paul can easily and truthfully be described as a series of brilliant achievements and marvellous successes. But it is not through his achievements and his success that he has seized and possessed the hearts of men. It is because behind the achievements we can see the trials and the failures. To others his life might seem like the triumphal progress of a conqueror. But we can look

through his eyes and watch the toil and the stress ; we can see him always on the point of failure, always guarding against the ceaseless dangers that threatened him, "*pressed on every side, yet not straitened, perplexed but not in despair, persecuted but not forsaken, cast down, but not destroyed.*"

We follow his fortunes with the keenest interest, because in everything we feel that he was so thoroughly representative of the mere man, and his career was so full of situations and difficulties such as the ordinary man has to face in the world. The life of St. Paul, as it stands before us in his letters and his biography, was one constant struggle against difficult circumstances. He was always suspected, always misunderstood, by some ; and he always found a friend to stand by him in his difficulties, to believe in him in spite of appearances, and to be his champion and guarantee. That is the daily lot of the men who work, of all who try to do anything good or great, of all men who strive towards an ideal of any kind, in patriotism, or in loyalty, or in honour, or in religion. They must be prepared to face misconception, suspicion, blame greater than they deserve ; and they may hope to find in every case a friend such as Paul always found.

The description of his first entry into the Christian world of Jerusalem is typical. "*When he was come to Jerusalem, he assayed to join himself to the disciples ; but they were all afraid of him, and believed not that he was a disciple. But Barnabas took him and brought him to the Apostles, and declared unto them how he had seen the Lord in the way. . . . And he was with them coming and going out of Jerusalem. . . . And he disputed against the Hellenist Jews ; but they went about to slay him.*" All the rest of his career is similar to that. His past life, with its passions, its errors, its attempts and its failures, always impeded him in every new enterprise. No one could "*deliver him from this body of death.*"

We see, too, that—as is the case with all men—his difficulties and his failures almost always were the result of his own nature. It was his own faults and errors that caused the misconceptions and suspicions, by which he was continually pressed and perplexed. In the intense enthusiasm of his nature he often failed to recognize the proper limitations, and erred in the way of overstraining the present emotion. He was carried too far in act and in word ; and at a later moment he became conscious that he had been over enthusiastic, and had not been sufficiently mindful of all the complex conditions.

When we say that he failed to recognize the proper limitations, we feel that the phrase is unsatisfactory ; and we must try to express what we aim at in another way. Let us compare him with the greatest of his contemporaries, the Apostles John and Peter. When we are in contact with them, at least in their later life, we are impressed always with the completeness of statement and the perfectness of vision that are implied in everything recorded of them. They had lived in company with Him who, in a sense far truer than Matthew Arnold meant,—

saw life steadily and saw it whole ;

and they had caught from Him something of that faculty of calm, steady, completeness of vision.

In all the words of Jesus the reader is impressed with that completeness of statement : the truth stands there whole and entire. You never require to look at the language from some special point of view, to make allowances for the circumstances and the intention of the speaker, before you recognize the truth of the words. You do not feel that there are other justifiable points of view which are left out of account, and that from those points the words of Jesus must be considered inadequate. The word is never one-sided.

Take any one of the sayings, such as, "*Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's*": or "*Wisdom is justified of all her children*": or "*The Son of Man is Lord of the Sabbath.*" Each of them is a complete and rounded whole, perfect from every point of view. There is nothing more to be said. The true commentator may expound laboriously from various points of view the truth of those matchless expressions, and thereby render a real service to the reader. You must look at each saying first in one light, then in another, analyze it, explain it, and you will better appreciate all that lies in it; but you cannot add to it, or make it more complete than it is. It stands there once for all. It is the final statement.

Something of that perfection of vision and of expression—that calm serene insight into the essential truth beneath the flow and change of things—that power of contemplating the world upon the plane of eternity—had passed into the mind of John and of Peter. Their acts and their words are alike on that plane of perfectness and finality. Their words were so, because their life and minds were so. "*We cannot but speak the things which we saw and heard.*" They had looked on the Truth: they had lived with the Truth. Never again could they live on the plane of ordinary humanity or see things exactly as men see them, for they had gazed upon eternity, and the glory was always in their eyes.

Something too of the same steadiness and completeness of vision belongs, and must belong, to the great prophets of the world. They were prophets because they had come into relations with the Divine nature and had seen the Truth. They too could not but speak the things which they had seen and heard.

Let us try another illustration—a modern one, drawn from Hegel's brief essay, entitled *Who is the abstract thinker?* in which he distinguishes the analytic method of scientific and abstract reasoning from the direct contemplation of the con-

crete truth of the eternal world. The great German philosopher in a few sentences hits off the various points of view from which a murderer on the scaffold is regarded by different persons.¹ The sociologists trace the conditions of society and education that led him to his crime: the moralists or the priests make him the text of a sermon on the corruption of the class to which he belongs. They see the murderer: they have no eyes for the man as part of the eternal world, as an item in the Divine plan. Sentimental ladies, as they look on, are struck with his handsome and interesting figure: they see another side, and there they are content: if they do not perhaps carry their words of admiration into action by throwing flowers to him on the scaffold. But one person, a poor old woman in the crowd, beheld the scene as a whole, as one act in the drama of eternity: *'The severed head was laid on the scaffold,' and there was sunshine.* "*But how beautifully,"* said she, "*does God's sun of grace lighten up his head!*" *The most contemptuous word we can use in anger is, "You are not worth the sun shining on you."* *The woman saw the sun shining on the murderer's head, and knew that he was still worth something in the eye of God.* She uttered in a flash of intuition a whole concrete truth, while the learned, the educated, and the fashionable world saw only one side or another, abstract and incomplete.

Now with Paul we feel ourselves in contact with a more simply human character than when we study the great Apostles John and Peter. It is not that he never moves and thinks and speaks on the plane of eternity. He often stands, or almost stands upon it, and sees accordingly. But he does not live on it. He only strives towards it. He is the typical, the representative man, who attains in moments of higher vision and inspiration to behold the truth, to commune with

¹ *Vermischte Schriften*, ii. p. 403 (*Werke*, vol. xvii.). A fine page in the late Prof. Wallace's *Logic of Hegel* (Proleg. lxxix.) directed my attention to it in undergraduate days, and fixed it in my mind for ever.

the Divine nature. He has, too, far more of such visions than other men. They are the greatest glory of his life, in which he might reasonably take pride.

But one feels that with Paul the vision lasted no long time. It was present with him only for a moment ; and then he was once more on the level of humanity.

Yet that, after all, is why Paul is so close to us. We too can sometimes attain to a momentary glimpse of Truth, when the veil seems for an instant to be withdrawn from her face ;

I will go forward, sayest thou,
I shall not fail to find her now ;
Look up, the fold is on her brow.

Throughout his life, we have to study Paul in this spirit. He sees like a man. He sees one side at a time. He emphasizes that—not indeed more than it deserves—but in a way that provokes misconception, because he expresses one side of the case, and leaves the audience to catch his meaning, to sympathize with his point of view, to supply for themselves the qualifications and the conditions and the reservations which are necessary in the concrete facts of actual life.

Alike in his acts and his words we notice the same tendency. When, after the agreement with the Judaic party in the Church, he went out on his second journey, he was ready, in his unhesitating and hearty acceptance of the arrangement, to do a very great deal in compliance with the Jews' natural and not unjustifiable prejudices. He even made the half Jew Timothy comply with the Jewish law. No act of his whole life is more difficult to sympathize with : none cost him more dearly. It was misunderstood by his Galatian converts¹ (as Bishop Lightfoot well explains in his

¹ This statement is quite independent of the south and north Galatian controversy. A few north-Galatian theorists, and a very few south-Galatian

commentary on the Epistle, pp. 104 f., 206 f.); and the Epistle which he afterwards addressed to them was intended to bring home to them the whole truth respecting their position in the Church. But as his act had given dangerous emphasis to one side of the case, the Epistle can restore the equilibrium and give concreteness and wholeness to the truth only by emphasizing the other side.

We on our part have to keep the two sides in mind in estimating the historical situation; and we must both take into consideration the later words when we judge the act as an indication of Paul's mind, and remember the earlier act when we estimate the meaning of certain very strong statements in the Epistle, such as "*if ye receive circumcision, Christ will profit you nothing,*" or "*ye are severed from Christ, ye who would be justified by the Law.*" Those words are one-sided, and not the whole many-sided truth. They are over-strained; and it needs much sympathy, and much allowance for the unexpressed but necessary conditions, in order to read in them the Pauline gospel.

Similarly, time after time, we find in the Epistles that Paul has laid himself open to misconstruction in the minds of his converts by emphasizing one side of the case, and has to give completeness to his teaching by stating another aspect. He wrote to the Corinthians, forbidding them in too general terms to have no social relations with immoral persons; but he feels afterwards that this, taken literally, would be equivalent to an order to go out of the world and to cut themselves off absolutely from the city in which they lived, inasmuch as all pagan society lived on an immoral basis. Therefore conditions and qualifications and explanations have to be added in 1 Corinthians v. 9-13. The first

theorists, would deny it. But from one point of view or another the overwhelming majority will accept and carry out in their own way what Lightfoot has said truly in the passages quoted above.

message was not a complete and perfect truth. It was a law that needed a supplement and a restriction.

Again, the second letter to the people of Thessalonica is to a great extent an attempt to guard against a misconception of his teaching; and the misconception was evidently due to the strong emphasis which he had laid on such ideas as the coming of the Kingdom.

But that is the way of mankind. If we would do anything we must strive and struggle along the difficult path of the world, making mistakes often, over-emphasizing often the side which we see, afterwards correcting our errors, completing our deficiencies; and worn out at last and spent with the heat and dust and fatigue of the toilsome road, we may need a friendly voice to tell us that we have not worked in vain, while we are ourselves too conscious of the failures to have any sense of the actual measure of achievement. In the life of Paul we read the life of man; and thus his story never grows old and never loses its fascination.

But the human character alone, even in conjunction with his great achievements, is not sufficient to explain the fascination that St. Paul exerts on us. I should not reckon even his power of sympathizing with and understanding the nature and needs of his followers in so many different lands as furnishing the full explanation. The reason seems to lie in that combination of qualities which made him representative of human nature at its best: intensely human in his undeniable faults, he shows a real nobility and loftiness of spirit in which every man recognizes his own best self.

The part which he had to play in Christian society was a difficult one. He came into it as much junior in standing and inferior in influence to all the great men of the company. Yet he was conscious that in insight, in practical sense, in power of directing the development of their young society, he was superior to them. He saw what they did not at first recognize, the true line of development for their

cause. He carried them with him, as their *de facto* leader. He had on one occasion to rebuke for his wavering and inconsistent conduct the one who at first had been the most enterprising and directing spirit among them. Moreover, he was of higher rank among his own people, sprung from an influential family which could not be ignored even in Jerusalem, marked out from youth as a person of consequence by his education and ability and energy, taking a prominent part among the leaders of his people from the day that he entered on public life. Finally, he was in all probability older than several, perhaps even than many of the Apostles.

All these causes conspired to render the position of Paul among the Christians of Jerusalem a very delicate one. Only the most perfect courtesy and respect for the rights and feelings of others, founded on the truest self-respect, could have carried him safely through the difficulties of the situation. He dared not yield to them, or sink his own personality in respect for their well-deserved authority, for he was strong in the mandate of revelation. Yet he would forfeit our love and respect if he ever obtruded his policy and his claims on them, or failed in the respect and reverence which was due from a neophyte to those whose eyes and minds were quickened with the glory of long communion with the Saviour.

In that difficult situation the world of readers and thinkers has decided that Paul never seriously erred. He never failed in reverence to the great men, and he never failed in the courage and self-reliance needed to press his policy on their joint councils. That is why we are still under his fascination, just as much as those who beheld his face and listened to his words and thought it was an angel that spoke. He stands before us not merely as a representative of simple human nature, but also as typical of the highest and best in human nature. We never understand him rightly, un-

less we conceive his action as on the highest plane that mere humanity is capable of permanently occupying.

It must be acknowledged that this description of St. Paul's relations to the older Apostles is very different from that which is commonly given by modern scholars. In the pages of most of them we find the picture of Paul as a man actuated always by jealousy of the great Apostles, continually trying to undermine their authority and to set himself in their place, driven on by the feeling that he could prove his own position only by picking faults in and criticizing his seniors, and that he could rise in the Church only by getting them turned out of their place. They set him before us ambitious, envious, almost selfish, a carping critic of others, yet not himself always very scrupulous in his methods, the least lovable and the most unlovely character in early Christian history. This picture is most characteristic of what is wrongly called the "critical" school, but is far from being confined to it, for the most extreme example is found in a Study of St. Paul, which takes the most "orthodox" view in all matters of criticism.

The upholders of that view seek to justify it chiefly by their interpretation of the second chapter of Galatians; but they rest on what is really a misinterpretation of the plain words under the influence of a preconceived theory as to St. Paul's character. The theory came first, and produced the false interpretation first of that paragraph and thereafter of many incidents in his career.

In opposition to that view we rest firmly on the general impression of the mass of readers: it is a case in which *securus judicat orbis terrarum*, the voice of the world must be right. The error has been widely spread by the vice of modern scholarship, a vice due in no inconsiderable degree to the over-developed system of examination and competition. We must, when still young, have command of enough knowledge—or rather, enough acquaintance with

opinions—to delude examiners into the belief that we possess knowledge; and we acquire this show of knowledge rapidly by reading the opinions of others in place of studying and thinking for ourselves.

By how many modern writers is a question of supreme importance in early Christian history set aside, with the remark that modern opinion is now agreed in regard to the late date and spurious character of some document: then a long series of arguments are heaped up which have been collected from other writers, obviously without any real independent thought or genuine unbiassed and open-minded study of the document in itself and at first hand. The groundless and empty opinion that there must be something in the conclusions of so many modern scholars seems often to be the sole original idea that the writer of some large book puts into it: the rest is simply borrowed argument.

And, further, there are many books which are vitiated from end to end by one extraordinary and unscholarlike fallacy: if some modern writers, for example, argue that the Pastoral Epistles ought to be dated about 160 A.D., and others that they were written about 120 A.D., and again others that they were composed about 90 A.D., by enlarging or adding to still earlier documents, the irrational prejudice reigns very widely that these diverse opinions support one another in disproving the Pauline origin of those Epistles. This is an exhibition of false method and pure *Unsinn*. Any opinion or reason that would place the composition of those Epistles amid the historical circumstances of 160 A.D. is as much an argument against the date 90 A.D. or the date 120 A.D., as against the date 60–70 A.D. Those diverse opinions, in place of supporting one another, as is commonly assumed, really are mutually destructive. It is only the ignorance in which most of those critics are involved of the real spirit of the Graeco-Roman world in both

90 and 160 that makes them fail to see the absolute hostility between the various phases of their arguments.

Most repellent of all, and most worthless, are those lists of authorities with their contradictory opinions, with which our modern books are loaded. If some great scholar had been so misguided as to delude himself into the theory that the Second Epistle to Timothy was forged under Marcus Aurelius, can we not let his blunder sleep in peaceful oblivion? He has only shown thereby that he has totally misunderstood the Epistle, or the age of Marcus, or both. Why blazon his shame to the world? We all make mistakes sometimes: even the youngest scholar will admit that about himself: even the greatest scholar is not free from human frailty. But let us forget the blunders, and record only the successes.

But the foundation of everything is the *a priori* assumption that what is stated in the collection of historical documents called the Bible must be inaccurate, and that in order to reach the truth we must get behind those documents, see how they were concocted, and determine what prejudices and intentions led the concocters into the mistakes which they made. In some extremists this assumption is pushed so far that their aim seems to be to construct a "history" of the Biblical period, in which there shall not be a single statement resting on ancient authority.

W. M. RAMSAY.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MONOTHEISM IN ISRAEL.

THE history of Monotheism, as portrayed in the Old Testament, shows very distinctly that the belief in One God was the ultimate outcome of an evolutionary process. This is a fact which is probably now almost universally recognized. Diversity of opinion is, however, strongly marked when the question arises as to *when* and *by whom* Monotheism, in the strictest sense of the word, was first of all held. That (whatever Monotheism was evolved out of) there must have been some one man who was first to believe in One God, to the exclusion of all and any other, who saw in Him the One Creator and Upholder of the Universe, the All-knowing, All-seeing, Omnipotent, Spiritual One—that this must have been the case is what both common sense and the natural, as well as the supernatural, course of things demands. To the question who this first man was, the answers have been various. The traditional view would logically be bound to point to Adam; but, apart from the fact that if this were the case the divine principle of Evolution would be overthrown, the most conservative Bible student would scarcely, at this time of day, so vitiate the beautiful spiritual teaching of the first chapter of *Genesis* as to maintain that the generic term אֱלֹהִים was the proper name of an individual. Another theory is that Abraham was the first Monotheist in the true sense of the word.¹ But one must confess, on the one hand, that the picture of Abraham, as presented in the Old Testament, is not sufficiently definite to permit of the theory that he was the originator of such a stupendous advance in the history of Religion as is involved in Monotheism. Moreover, it is no exaggeration to say that his conception of God, as depicted in *Genesis*, is far below the spiritual level of that attained

¹ See e.g. the most interesting article by the late Dr. Dale, "Abraham," in the *EXPOSITOR*, June, 1896.

by the great exponents of Monotheism in the highest sense. To form any sort of appreciation of the limitations of Abraham's conception of God would involve an investigation of the composite sources of the narrative, which would be out of place here.¹ Once again, it has been most ably contended that Moses was the first Monotheist.² But, without going into detail, it must suffice here to say that Moses, so far as we can determine from the evidence, was rather the leader and practical legislator of the nation; there are grounds for thinking that even here he was not (at any rate at first) acting entirely on his own initiative.³ Certain it is that positive evidence as to any high monotheistic ideas which could be attributed to him, is wanting. At the same time, it cannot be denied that in Moses we reach a stage in that evolutionary process which ultimately resulted in pure Monotheism, which is of the most vital importance. Whatever may be thought of these three theories as to the originator of Monotheism, there are probably but few scholars who would question the important part played by Moses in the Evolution of Religion.

It was said above that the history of Monotheism showed very distinctly that the belief in One God was the ultimate outcome of an evolutionary process; but it must be added that the gradual self-revelation of God to man, while normally working upon the principle of Evolution, or, in other words, while adapted to man's capacity for apprehension, reaches, at certain times a stage at which the ordinary course of that Revelation is suspended, and an *extraordinary* step is taken, whereby man is placed within reach of a new conception and a new knowledge of God, to which it would

¹ For a more lucid statement of these, it would be difficult to find anything better than Gunkel's remarks in his *Genesis*, in the section "Abrahamsge-schichten," pp. 146-265.

² See e.g. Dr. Peters' art. "The Religion of Moses," in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1901, second part.

³ Op. e.g. Exod. xviii.

have been impossible for him under normal circumstances to attain.

When the historical evidence becomes sufficiently clear and voluminous, it points with unmistakable evidence to the period of the great "literary" prophets as that in which Monotheism, in the highest and truest sense, became self-conscious and articulate in Israel. When, in certain respects, we find, for example, in the writings of the prophet Isaiah, an even higher conception of God than that contained in those of Amos or Hosea, we are justified in regarding this as due to the normal working of Evolution, because the conception of God in each is *fundamentally* the same; certain new characteristics of Jahwe are realized by the later prophet, but they are evolved out of what was known before; the knowledge of Jahwe's Personality is the same in *kind*, though it may differ in *degree*. But there is a step previous to this which cannot be explained upon the principle of Evolution alone; for when we compare the conception of Jahwe held by the latest of the *Nebiim* (in the early sense of the word) with that of the first of the "literary" prophets, the difference is found to be so prodigious both in *kind*, as well as in *degree*, that it is absolutely impossible to believe that Evolution *alone* can have been the cause of such an advance. The greatest among the *Nebiim* was Elijah, who well sums up all that was highest in the conception of Jahwe held by his predecessors, and who may therefore be regarded as the representative of all that was best and noblest among the *Nebiim*. The earliest of the "literary" prophets was Amos. In order to realize how great a gulf divides them, the conception of Jahwe on the part of these two must first be placed in juxtaposition and contrast.

I.

For the present purpose Elijah's conception of Jahwe may be set forth from two points of view, namely :

(a) From the standpoint of Jahwe's relation to Israel as the *national* God;

(b) From that of His *ethical* character.

(a) Jahwe, and Jahwe alone, is the God of Israel, and Elijah is His prophet. As such, the prophet will not tolerate any rival worship within Jahwe's domain. Against any form of syncretism, any union of the worship of Israel's God with that of the Tyrian Baal he consistently and emphatically protests. Such an amalgamation he will not tolerate for a single moment.

(b) In the second place he conceived of Jahwe as an ethical God. The classic illustration of this is, of course, the story of Naboth's vineyard: *Hast thou killed and also taken possession . . . ? In the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth, shall the dogs lick thine, even thine.*¹ This conception is further illustrated by the modification in the severity of the punishment decreed, in consequence of Ahab's contrition.² Here the punishment is conditioned by ethical considerations. This ethical element in Elijah's conception of Jahwe is supremely important, nevertheless, while from one point of view it may be regarded as containing the germ of all that was most characteristic in the epoch-making developments of the later monotheistic prophets, yet, at the same time, there is nothing to lead us to suppose that Elijah in any degree realized the possibilities that were *essentially* contained in that ethical element. For, after all, is there any real advance in Elijah's conception of Jahwe's ethical character on what had gone before? Certainly, the narrative of Naboth's vineyard and Ahab's contrition may be paralleled by the episode of Bathsheba and David's repentance; the part assumed by Nathan is much the same as that taken by the later prophet. The same remark applies to Elijah's

¹ 1 Kings xxi. 19.

² 1 Kings xxi. 27-29.

conception of Jahwe as the national God. There is nothing to lead us to suppose that he regarded Jahwe as essentially transcending national limitations. The intrusion of a rival god into Jahwe's domain does not lead to any denial of the entity of the intruder, such as we find in the later monotheistic prophets. The whole scene on Mount Carmel seems to imply that the Baal was not a nonentity, and when the prophet pleads, *O Lord, hear me, that this people may know that Thou, Lord, art God*, we miss the addition, *and that there is none other beside Thee*. Another illustration, too, is afforded by the flight to Mount Horeb¹—a locality obviously suggested by the belief that it was Jahwe's primeval dwelling-place whither the national God had withdrawn from His land. Once more, in the episode of Ahaziah, the prophet implicitly allows the existence of the heathen God: *Inasmuch as thou hast sent messengers to inquire of Baalzebub the god of Ekron, is it because there is no God in Israel to inquire of His word?*² Thus, Jahwe's existence does not exclude that of other gods. Elijah's conception is henotheistic, but not monotheistic. And, finally, it should be noted that the prophet makes no protest against the worship of Jahwe under the accepted symbol of an ox.

It will be seen, therefore, that Elijah's conception of Jahwe's supremacy and ethical character was essentially conservative; it marks no real advance on the ideas prevalent, for example, in the time of David, as already pointed out. Elijah's real achievement seems to have been that he *maintained* the purity of the earlier conceptions in the face of a particularly formidable attack. His greatness in this respect is only enhanced by a contemplation of the character and achievements of his successor Elisha.

¹ 1 Kings xix. 8; cf. 1 Kings xx. 23.

² 2 Kings i. 16.

II.

When we turn now to consider the conception of Jahwe held by the earliest of the "literary" prophets, about a century later, we cannot fail to be struck by the immense difference that divides the later from the earlier; while, at the same time, we can distinguish in their developed form the presence of the earlier conceptions. Nevertheless, though the greater includes the less, it also embodies a further conception which is so different from the antecedent ones in *degree* as to involve, in truth, a difference in *kind*. In order to estimate the significance of the new elements it will be necessary first of all to state in outline the main points in Amos' conception of Jahwe which may be regarded as natural developments of pre-existing ideas.

(a) Jahwe is represented as above all else an ethical god; Elijah, as we have seen, included this element in his conception of Jahwe, but in a limited sense; in Amos it has received an immense development, and *dominates* his whole idea. Jahwe, he declared in effect, was primarily a *holy* God, and would vindicate His holy character even to the extent of permitting the ruin of the State which claimed Him as its tutelary Deity. Behind Israel's foes, behind the Assyrian menace, it was *Jahwe* who threatened punishment and exile: *Behold I will raise up against you a nation, O house of Israel, saith the Lord, the God of Hosts.*¹

(b) Secondly, Jahwe is the God of history, and this not merely in the limited sense recognized by Elijah, who, in such a passage, for example, as 1 Kings xviii. 36 acknowledges Jahwe's control over the history of the Israelitish people,—but in the infinitely extended] conception involved in the idea that Jahwe has overruled from the first the destinies of other nations: *Have not I brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Syrians from Kir?*² This conception is

¹ Amos vi. 14.² Amos ix. 7.

powerfully brought out in the first two chapters of the prophet's book, which contain a prophetic survey of the surrounding nations, leading up to a climax in the judgment denounced on Israel.

(c) In the third place, Jahwe is the God of Nature; in Amos' thought His sovereignty is not limited to any local centre, as is the case with Elijah,¹ but Israel's God is the Lord over all the earth and the Master of all Nature's forces, it is He *that maketh the Pleiades and Orion, and turneth the shadow of death into the morning, and maketh the day dark with night; that calleth for the waters of the sea and poureth them out upon the face of the earth.*²

Such are, very briefly, the main points then in Amos' conception of Jahwe which may be regarded as developments of the earlier ideas. These are in themselves striking enough, but their full significance can hardly be realized without taking account of the great fundamental difference which distinguishes Amos' doctrine from that of his predecessors—a difference so great in *degree* as to amount to a distinction in *kind*. Briefly this is to be found in the prophet's *Ethical Monotheism*, a Monotheism involving not merely the Divinity's uniqueness in sovereignty and power, such as might conceivably have been developed in any one or more of the ethnic religions, and may be, perhaps, recognized in the attempt of Amenophis to reduce the Egyptian Pantheon—but which includes this conception under the higher and deeper one of holiness and moral requirement. Jahwe is, in Amos' thought, the supremely *holy* God; His *omnipotence* is conditioned by His character as primarily *holy*; the demands He makes upon His worshippers also correspond to this element in His Being; *and it is this characteristic which distinguishes Him from all the ideas of God involved or expressed in what had*

¹ E.g. 1 Kings xix. 11.

² Amos v. 8.

gone before. This supremely holy and all-sovereign Being is also omnipresent; this point is strongly insisted upon by Amos, everywhere—in the realms of the dead, in the heavens, on the mountain tops, in the depths of the sea, the all-pervading presence of Jahwe discerns all things.¹ In such terms Amos expresses Jahwe's *omnipotence*. And this conception also enables the prophet to perceive a unity of purpose throughout the ordered universe and human history which has no parallel in thought or expression in any of his predecessors. Further, it is important to note how *definite* his conception of the Personality of this exalted Being is; in the prophet's idea Jahwe has not been spiritualized into a vague abstraction; while as free as possible from anthropomorphic characterization, Jahwe is still to Amos a very distinct divine Personality. Within such a conception of Deity there is no room or possibility for any rival; the heathen gods cannot only not be compared with Jahwe, but their very existence is inconceivable in company with Him; it is no question of "Who is like Jahwe among the gods?" for the very *raison d'être* of the heathen gods has disappeared; what room is there for tutelary deities among the nations when it is *Jahwe* who has not only brought Israel out of Egypt but also the Philistines from Caphtor and the Syrians from Kir?

We are thus confronted with a conception of Jahwe so vast and so utterly beyond anything that finds expression in the preceding literature as to place Amos in a unique position among the divinely chosen instruments of the progressive revelation of God to man. A great gulf divides him from his predecessors. Can any answer be given to the question, *How came it that Amos occupied this position?* This question we must now proceed to attempt to answer.

¹ Amos ix. 2.

III.

The history, not of Christianity only, but also of all mankind, teaches that the Eternal uses visible occurrences as the vehicle and means whereby the conception of Himself in the heart of man is gradually unfolded. If it is true to say that we are to see the hand of God in history, it must also be true to say that we are right in believing that the Divine action here has not merely the fulfilment of His will in view, but that it is intended to be a partial revelation, for those who have eyes to see and hearts to understand, of His character and personality. But this guiding of history is conditioned in great measure by the action of man; for while we believe most certainly that the Divine omniscience overrules for good many an episode in the history of a nation, we cannot believe that it was in accordance with the Divine will that many occurrences in history have taken place. The action of free-will plays its part in the nation as well as in the individual.

(a) Now in Israel, in the eighth century B.C., the devastating hand of Syria was held in check by the new growth of the Assyrian power, with the result that the nation of Israel found itself free to develop, unhampered, in every direction. Peace brought with it new opportunities for trade and commerce, prosperity increased, the national wealth and prestige grew, and ultimately Israel reached a pitch of grandeur and importance such as had never yet fallen to its lot.

But this wealth and prosperity engendered luxurious habits; the wealthier class plunged into voluptuous modes of living, pleasure and the gaining of the means whereby pleasure can be indulged became the all-absorbing objects of life; the moral, intellectual and physical vigour of the people became sapped; the national conscience became dulled. To gain their ends the leading classes resorted to tyranny and oppression, the poor and helpless were down-

trodden, and the voice of justice could not make itself heard. Simultaneously, and indeed inevitably, with this degradation of national morality went religious decay. The intercourse with other nations which commerce facilitated became the means of introducing foreign cults and religious uses into the country—these, too, of the most debasing character. The inevitable result of all this was such a degradation of morals and decay of pure religion, such a loss of the sense of righteousness and justice, that the nation became hopelessly and irretrievably lost. *The virgin of Israel is fallen, she shall no more rise.*¹ So far the perverse will of man.

But this terrible national crisis was overruled by the *Divine* will for good; for in contemplating it, Amos starts back in horror; never before had the contrast between the nation and its God, Jahwe, been so glaringly revealed; his mind is thrown upon God, his moral sense flees to God for protection; and he becomes, by degrees, conscious of the immeasurable distance there must be between this nation, wallowing in its iniquity, and the pure and holy One, Whom they have dared to call their God! The national crisis, by emphasizing in the prophet's mind the nation's vast distance from its God, had tended to produce a new conception of Jahwe's ethical character and holiness. Never is the brightness of light so piercing as when we turn from gazing into darkness.

(b) Secondly, we must see in *the personality of Amos* a contributing cause to account, in part, for the difference in the conception of Jahwe between the earlier prophets and himself.

In the solitude of the desert, far from the abode of man, undistracted by the jarring of petty human affairs, Amos was in the habit of contemplating the phenomena of the natural world around him. His soul was attuned to receive new knowledge of Him whose creation he was daily observ-

¹ Amos v. 2, cf. viii. 2.

ing. The first realization that Amos had of the closeness of his relationship to Jahwe, the irresistible conviction which finally overpowered him that he was a chosen instrument of Him whose nature he had so often thought upon, was when following the flocks in the silent wilds of Judaea.¹ The manner and conditions of his "call" are unique. His utterances concerning Jahwe are those of a man whose life has been lived in the contemplation of the Deity and His works, of one who has not observed in vain the wonders of the natural world around him, but who sees in them the majesty and wisdom and power of their Creator. We are led to believe, therefore, that the very nature of Amos was created by God for the purpose of using it as a means of conveying to his mind a new and a holier conception of Jahwe than had yet entered into the heart of man.

(c) And in the third place we may ask, as a help in determining the causes which contributed to the altogether new conceptions of Amos: Can any one fundamental conception, explaining the rest, be discerned in Amos' idea of God? And we can answer: Yes, his ethical conception, already more than once referred to; but, inasmuch as this is the very central core from which all his thoughts and conclusions proceed, we may be permitted to dwell upon it once again. It was the lofty ethical conception of Jahwe held by Amos that dominated and determined all the prophet's characterization. Because Jahwe is all-holy His requirements are above all else *moral* requirements.² The contemplation of the moral, religious and social degradation of Israel, as we have seen, only sharpens the contrast between the nation and its God. And so the prophet draws the amazing and yet necessary inference that Jahwe will manifest Himself to the nation that claims Him as its tutelary Deity in destruction and national ruin. The instru-

¹ Amos vii. 15.

² Cf. Amos iv. 4-11 culminating in verse 12.

ment of this Amos sees in the menace of Assyria.¹ Israel's future enemies shall be Jahwe's instrument for chastising His people and vindicating His moral requirements.² Jahwe is thus conceived as more than a national God, for He controls at will other forces outside Israel. In other words, the All-Holy One of Amos' idea must be conceived also as omnipotent. Amos thus reaches the highest conception of Monotheism. That the All-Holy, Omnipotent One also controls all Nature and History is necessarily involved. Within such a conception there is no room even for subordinate rival deities. In the burning light of Jahwe's Holiness they appear as nonentities. The contrast, too, between what is demanded by an All-Holy God and the characteristics of heathen deities is too glaring to permit of their being regarded as in any sense real by Amos.³ And so the point to which we are irresistibly forced back is this, that Amos's conception of the Divine character is primarily an *ethical* one.

But whence did he receive, how did he arrive at so transcendent an idea of what ethical character, raised to the power of Divinity, *really* involves? That is the great mystery. In a word, we may declare that all the outward circumstances which, under Divine guiding, contributed to this new conception of God,—the march of history, the developed conceptions, the character of Amos himself—these are not sufficient to account for the great mystery. While history teaches us that centuries of preparation are needed to fit the human race to receive and apprehend a further self-revelation of God to man,—to make it capable of producing the man who is to be the ultimate vehicle for proclaiming such revelation,—a time must come at last when inspiration, in the most literal sense of the word,

¹ Amos v. 27.

² Amos ix. 9.

³ It is instructive to notice how Amos ignores the Baalim, so frequently referred to by Hosea; the one exception is Amos viii. 14.

namely, the Spirit of God overpowering the moral and intellectual being of man and infusing into his soul a knowledge which until then was superhuman,—a time must come at last when inspiration intervenes and gives the last, but decisive, touch. This is the part which transcends human comprehension: the miraculous; the time when the Divine Spirit imparts a new and undreamed-of knowledge to man, a knowledge of the supremest kind, namely that which concerns the essence of the Personality of God. Such knowledge, from the very nature of the case, cannot come but through the direct intervention of God Himself.

And so we come back to the thought from which we started, that the gradual self-revelation of God to man, while normally working upon the principle of evolution, or, in other words, while adapted to man's capacity for apprehension, reaches at certain times a stage at which the ordinary course of that Revelation is suspended, and an *extraordinary* step is taken whereby man is placed within reach of a new conception and a new knowledge of God, which would have been impossible for him under normal circumstances. And the most signal example of such Divine intervention in the history of the world, prior to the Christian revelation, we discern in the person of Amos, "borne" of God, lifted up above his fellows, to be a fit instrument for declaring to man the eternal truth of the Unity of God.

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

STUDIES IN THE "INNER LIFE" OF JESUS.

VII.

THE SURRENDER OF HOME.

1. In His Baptism Jesus had assumed and been confirmed in His Vocation. In His Temptation His fidelity to His own ideal, in conflict with the popular expectations of it, had been tested, and had stood the test. In His Early Self-Disclosure He had proved the readiness of a few men to help Him in its fulfilment. In His Surrender of His Home His devotion to it stood a severe and grievous trial. How was His Divine call to be related to, and affected by, His human duty in the relationships of the home? This question was answered in His response to His mother's request in Cana of Galilee (John ii. 4), His rebuke both of her and His brethren, when they came to take Him away from His ministry (Mark iii. 35), His recognition of the opposition of spirit and purpose between Himself and them, when they urged Him to go up to Jerusalem to manifest Himself to the world (John vii. 6), His committal of her to John on the Cross (John xix. 26). The meaning of these utterances themselves, however, cannot be fully understood, unless viewed in the light of all His teaching on the duties of the home, and of the demands He made on His disciples with respect to their family relationships.

2. The general principles which Jesus laid down have secured for the home a place of honour and a claim of devotion in Christian society, such as are not elsewhere accorded to it. In opposition to the lax practice of the age in regard to divorce, He insisted on the absolute inviolability of the marriage bond; and His boldest criticism and severest condemnation of the imperfection of the Mosaic code were uttered in defence of this fundamental social institution. To the same uncompromising defence of mar-

riage belongs His demand of perfect chastity of thought as well as deed. In His censure of the traditions of the scribes, which set at nought the law of God, He emphatically affirmed the claims of parents upon their children. He regarded any loosening of the family tie as an annulling and making void of the will of God. His tenderness and gentleness towards women and children may also be taken as an indication of the great value He assigned to the family relationships. His choice of the name *Father* for God proves that in human relations He recognized an image, however imperfect, of the Divine heart. This analogy between the human and the Divine affection He so confidently used in argument about God's dealings with men as to show that in the home He saw a revelation of God Himself.

3. There are some sayings, however, which seem to show a depreciation of family relationships. One of His sayings has not only bewildered, but even grieved loving hearts, for it seems to limit the relationship of marriage entirely to this earthly life, and thus appears to refuse to the most intense and intimate affection of which humanity is capable a place in the heavenly world. "In the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as angels in heaven" (Matt. xxii. 30). As the Sadducees, to whom these words were spoken, conceived marriage merely in its physical aspect as the means of continuing the race, no so wide-reaching significance need be attached to them. Marriage as a physical provision will cease; the social institution which depends upon it will pass away; but the personal affection, which has its basis in nature, and protection from society, but has itself a spiritual value, will, we may confidently assume, have its legitimate function recognized even in the new order of the eternal life. Nevertheless this saying does undoubtedly show that there is a physical and social aspect in human relationships to which Jesus assigns but a temporary validity.

4. More important even for our present purpose are the sayings in which Jesus deals with the family relationships of His disciples. He forbids one who seeks to be a disciple to go and bury his father; and another to bid farewell to those who are at his home. Not only are father and mother to be loved less than He Himself is, but even in comparison with Him they are to be hated. Among the sacrifices He required of His disciples a foremost place is assigned to the surrender of home. As His teaching at other times shows that He did not assign little worth to the claims of kindred, we must conclude that it was only the incomparable value, and the absolute authority, which He ascribed to discipleship, that made Him depreciate in comparison the good of the family. It was also because He saw the danger which lurked in the duties of the home, that He was so insistent and uncompromising in His demand for its abandonment. Affection may narrow as well as widen the heart. The logical formula, that as the intension of a term increases its extension decreases, may be applied to human affection. Intensity and exclusiveness are often allied. The family instead of being the servant may prove the rival of the kingdom of God.

5. We may assume the principle that what Jesus taught others He had Himself learned in His own life. Did He so earnestly warn His disciples of the dangers of their family relationships as hindering their entire and constant devotion to His cause, because He Himself had faced the danger, and had discovered by how severe a struggle alone it could be escaped? Several incidents in His life seem fully to justify this conclusion. With some of these we may now deal. His saying to His mother at Cana has caused expositors not a little trouble. The attempts to represent the utterance as altogether courteous and gracious cannot be pronounced entirely successful. "Woman" may or may not be a title of respect, but it is not natural for a son so to address his

mother. The use of this mode of address, even apart from the words which follow, seems to show without doubt that it was necessary for Jesus to assert at this time in unequivocal language His isolation from and His independence of the interests and obligations of His former home in Nazareth, to make plain to His mother, however painful to her that knowledge might prove, that her authority could no longer be recognized by the son, who was now directly subject to God alone, and that her wishes could not be regarded by Him in the fulfilment of His vocation, and in the exercise of the powers which had been entrusted to Him by God for His work.

6. Most men are able to fulfil their vocation without the surrender of home, nay, even for most men, home has a necessary place to fill, and an essential part to play, in the doing of their work in the world. Most men do their duty to God and mankind by pursuing some trade and profession, by maintaining and protecting a family, by discharging the duties imposed by neighbourliness and citizenship. But some men are called to a wider sphere, and therefore a harder task. To fulfil their vocation, they must cast off the limitations of interest and effort which the home involves. To quote Jesus' own striking words, "there are eunuchs which made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake." The more universal the scope of any man's vocation, the more absolute the demand which it makes upon him, the more absorbing its interest and exhausting its efforts, the more completely must he abandon home and kindred. Such an abandonment Jesus did demand from His followers. If their vocation as His disciples required this surrender of home, much more must His vocation have demanded from Him this complete sacrifice.

7. How great was the sacrifice involved we cannot measure, for our capacity of loving cannot fathom the depths of the affection of Jesus. It has already been shown

that the home in Nazareth was divinely prepared to be the nursery and the school of the soul of Jesus as He grew in wisdom and grace. He had been in no hurry to escape from its shelter and its burden. Even He was taught and trained for His wider task by its narrower duties. As the Son of Mary and the Carpenter of Nazareth He learned to bear Himself fitly and worthily as the Son of God and the Saviour of mankind. If, as is not at all unlikely, He owed to His mother not only the care and kindness of common motherhood, but even those first disclosures of the dignity of His person, and the glory of His destiny, which were for Him the occasion and the stimulus of His self-discovery, home would be to Him not only a shrine of human affection, but even a temple of divine communion. Nevertheless His words in the Temple, when He stood where "the brook and river meet," between boyhood and manhood, show that misunderstanding was possible even in that home. There were limits to His mother's insight and sympathy. Not improbably even before He left His home, He had begun to realize that His nearest and dearest could not share His wishes, aims, and hopes, and that in the fulfilment of His vocation He would be left alone with His Father. Although He enjoyed a closeness of fellowship with God which has been given to no other, yet, as His appeal to His disciples to watch with Him in Gethsemane shows, He longed for human companionship; and accordingly His mother's failure to understand and feel with Him must have been a very severe trial to Him. We cannot understand His words to His mother unless by a sympathetic imagination we realize for ourselves as clearly and fully as we can the psychological situation. His departure from home had been regarded with disapproval; His return to Cana had been welcomed as an opportunity for the recovery by His mother of the influence over Him which she had so long exercised, but which now seemed to be slipping from her grasp; His

mother's request appeared an attempt to reassert her authority over Him; His answer was intended to assert conclusively that the old relation was for Him once for all ended, that He had entered on a new life in which His mother could not continue to fill the same place, and wield the same power, as she had hitherto done.

8. The severity of the language in which this decision is expressed is inexplicable, unless it marked a crisis in Jesus' own experience. Just as the harshness of the words to Peter at Caesarea Philippi, "Get thee behind Me, Satan," can be accounted for only if He was feeling the strain and stress of temptation in Peter's appeal, even so the sternness of tone can be explained only if His mother's request appeared to Him to involve a moral peril for Himself. It is not easy to set aside habits of obedience; it is very hard to claim the rights of independence. The closer the relationship and the deeper the affection, the easier the obedience and the harder the independence. Our dearest relationships may bring us our most dangerous temptations. How many have sinned for love's sake who would not have done wrong from greed, or pride, or hate. Just because Jesus loved His mother so deeply, did He feel so keenly the greatness of the danger of her interference in His work. Had He cared less for her, He would have feared less that she might turn Him from the path of duty, and make Him in obedience to her disobedient to God.

9. It is true that He afterwards fulfilled His mother's request, and gave the help asked; but the moral quality of the same action is altogether changed by difference of motive. To use His supernatural power at His mother's bidding would have been altogether wrong, for it would have been a subordination of His universal vocation to His private relationships. To work a miracle at the prompting of the Spirit of His Father dwelling in Him to enlighten and guide Him was right, because the power was being

used in submission to the will by which it had been bestowed, and in obedience to which alone it could be legitimately exercised. At Cana Jesus felt the same struggle, if not quite as intensely as in the wilderness. He could not accept His mother's wishes as a guide to His action, because He could fulfil His vocation only as He minded not the things of men, but the things of God. How wise was His foresight, and how right His decision in thus asserting His independence of His mother in His obedience to God, subsequent events clearly showed.

10. It is most painful and surprising that Jesus' own in the narrowest sense of the word did not receive Him. But the Gospels make it plain that during His ministry He suffered, not only from the indifference, but even from the opposition of His mother and His brethren. Mark, with his frank and bold realism, informs us that "when His friends," by which, as the context shows, the Evangelist undoubtedly means His family, heard the report of His words and works, and the stir made by these, "they went out to lay hold on Him; for they said, He is beside Himself." So far had their misunderstanding gone, and so far were they prepared to carry their distrust of Him. Jesus absolutely denied their right to control His actions, and He did this even in language in which He renounced their claim to relationship. The only relation which He will recognize is spiritual affinity, and not physical connexion. "Whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is My brother, and sister, and mother." (With this may be compared His saying, when a woman called His mother blessed, "Yea, rather blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it.")

11. This renunciation of family was made, not from selfishness or lovelessness, but because on the one hand these relationships were hindering His fidelity to His vocation, and on the other in the doing of His duty He was forming other bonds of affection, which were more enduring

and satisfying. That the wider love of all who shared one common aim of submission to, and service of God might attain all the intimacy and intensity of family affection, the claims of the natural relation had to be resisted. It was for the sake of an expansive love that an exclusive love was denied, not its right as an affection, but its claim as a monopoly. Nevertheless we can be certain of this, that a heart so tender as Jesus' could not, without keen pain, curb and check the first affections of the home, even although thereby He might gain a larger liberty of love's communion among those who understood Him better, and, therefore, could in His work help Him more than those who were earliest kind, because nearest kin. Jesus had thus to solve for Himself what are the most serious and troublesome problems of the moral life, those arising, not from the conflict of sinful desire and simple duty, but from the opposition of duties, each of which has its own right, and the claims of which as against one another must be decided by an enlightened conscience in view of the great end and chief good of life. He decided that there are higher interests and greater obligations than those of the family, even those of personal communion in the kingdom of God.

12. It is not needful to dwell on the incident recorded in John vii. 1-9. His brethren's taunt and His rebuke show how great the estrangement had become. Ambition had in the brethren led affection astray. Duty in Him refused to be turned aside by affection. Instead of being willing that He should be the best that He knew He ought to be, they wanted Him to be as great as they believed He might be. Still more suggestive in regard to Jesus' family relationships, however, is the utterance from the Cross, "Woman, behold thy son" (John xix. 26). This is a saying the full significance of which is not commonly grasped. It does not mean simply that Jesus, who had hitherto been looking after His mother, when He knew Himself dying, passed on His task

to His beloved disciple. If no more is meant, why is the strange mode of address used? why did the failing breath not use the sacred name mother? why was the transference of the trust described as the annulling of the old in the forming of the new relation? These questions can be adequately answered only from the standpoint to which we have been led by our consideration of the previous incidents. His vocation as Saviour and Lord of all mankind necessarily involved the sacrifice of all other more private and particular human relationships. That He might offer Himself freely and fully to all men, no woman could claim the exclusive privilege of His filial affection. If we are not prepared to place Mary nearer the throne of the exalted Christ than any other, and thus fall into the superstition of Mariolatry, we should heartily welcome these words of Jesus as an intimation that this human relationship was once for all dissolved, that in the eternal life the temporal bond would no longer hold. There is no respect of persons with God. If Jew and Gentile are on an equality in the Kingdom of God, even although salvation was from the Jews, Mary is not exalted in heaven above other women, even although she was so highly favoured by God as to be on earth the mother of the Messiah. As Jesus in His progress Godward transcended His Jewish nationality, even so He transcended His family relationships. In His typical experience the law held, first the natural, then the spiritual. The natural relationship of mother and son must yield to another, even the spiritual of the Saviour and the saved. There was then no lack or loss of affection in the intimation on the Cross. He desired that His mother might be knit to Him in a spiritual union, closer than even the hallowed relationship of motherhood allowed. It was for a sacred ministry that He chose His beloved disciple. He entrusted His mother to one who understood and knew Him best, that by his converse and influence she might be brought to believe in

her Son as hitherto she had failed to believe, and that for the mother's fond affection there might be given to her the hallowed devotion of the believer. His bequest to His mother was a companionship, by which she might be led to the higher relationship of discipleship, with its greater blessedness.

13. As Jesus was richly endowed in heart as well as mind and will, and as the growth of His heart was for so long a time, as well as first of all, in the home, the surrender of home was no small part of the sacrifice of His life. It did mean sorrow to Him, that those from whom He might have looked for understanding and help had to be withstood as a danger and a hindrance. It did mean struggle for Him so to enlarge the bounds of His affection, that the disciple-circle became dear to Him even as His home had been. At great cost to Himself He has given us the supreme example of that ever-widening universal love, which rests not on any physical connexion, but on spiritual affinity, and the severest rebuke of that exclusive sentiment of family, which so often hinders a man's doing the work to which God has called him, and rendering the service to mankind for which he is fitted. As the narrowing affection is a temptation, so the widening affection is a task. Jesus withstood the temptation and discharged the task.

14. Jesus does not, however, destroy the home, as might at first sight appear. For (1) as has already been indicated the vocation of most men can be realized not only without the surrender, but even by means of home. It was only because Jesus realized the typical and universal humanity, that in Him the larger so entirely superseded the narrower affection. (2) In the home every man must, as Jesus did, learn the duties of the heart, which prepare him for the exercise of the love which embraces all mankind. (3) It is not inevitable that kindred and friends should be indifferent or hostile, as was the experience of Jesus; but happily

many a man finds in his home the comfort and encouragement which enable him to go on with his task, even in the face of an unfriendly world. Only as we estimate adequately the value of home, can we realize sufficiently how great was the sacrifice of Jesus in the Surrender of His Home.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

*IS SECOND PETER A GENUINE EPISTLE TO
THE CHURCHES OF SAMARIA ?*

III.

DESTINATION OF THE EPISTLE.

GNOSTICISM has been a name to conjure with. But to-day the historian must define his term, he must distinguish its multiform varieties, and sift out the original ingredients. System and principle underlay its diverse shapes. It was an attempt to solve the world-riddle, a philosophy of existence. Not every witch's caldron of superstitions was worthy to be labelled gnostic. As it is seen in the great systems of the second century Gnosticism is a recombination of elements from different religious structures, Oriental, Hellenistic and Jewish, tendencies to a Jewish gnosis running back to pre-Christian times. There were Jewish radicals, perhaps chiefly Hellenists, who allegorized away the Law and refused to be regulated by its morals. They denied the resurrection of the body, and dealt much in theories of angels and mediating powers.

Magic was another important ingredient in some types of Gnosticism. But magic itself was a syncretism with at least some rudimentary speculation conformed to its practice. Among the Jews it often went hand in hand with a radical attitude to the Law, among the Samaritans with superadded ethnic extravagances. Demonology, the informing spirit of magic, had at the opening of our era developed to enormous proportions throughout the Orient, fascinating even distinguished rabbis contemporary with the Apostles, and that too in spite of the fact that in the Old Testament sorcery is an object of horror to the true prophet. Magic was one of the arts of the false prophets who plied it as an exceptional source of revenue. Down through the history of Israel and afterwards of the Church there is heard every-

where the evil echo of illicit commerce with the world of spirits. The demons were supposed to be the offspring of the fallen angels and to have led men into vices of every sort. They swarmed in this world working mischief, bodily and spiritual ; against which numerous words and devices were deemed effective by the ordinary timorous Jew, the most potent being the unutterable name of God.

Not the least merciful portion of the ministry of Jesus was His wonderful incursion into the kingdom of evil spirits. By driving out demons He proved Himself to be the One who could bind the strong man, and rid the house which he had usurped of him (Matt. xii. 24-32). On the threshold of the apostolic age this hideous spirit of evil again presents itself to the young Church as its first missionaries go forth. From Acts it is not difficult to trace its shape, and the letters of the Apostles occasionally reveal the apprehension caused to the believing heart by its power. Simon, Elymas and the Jewish exorcists of Ephesus (Acts viii., xiii., xix.), amazing the common people by their enchantments, have large success with them, and are rated at their own valuation by the cultured and wealthy classes. But they are full of guile and reckless mischief, they are enemies of all righteousness, sons of the devil, doomed to perish. They make vast claims and have a most elaborate system of charms with which to keep the evil spirits in their control. In Ephesus especially their books—the *Ephesia Grammata* filled with barbaric words and polysyllabic names—were of extreme value. Recently discovered papyri from Egypt contain endless varieties of the name Yahweh (יהוה) and other meaningless symbols employed by the Samaritans to bring the demon under their influence. Greed for money and influence is perhaps the most constant feature of these sorcerers.

There was never any compromise with the system or its leaders by a Peter or a Paul. For both the terrible power

of the spirit of evil and the awful cost of their Lord's victory were too real to admit of trifling with what was chiefly imposture. Though in the Gospels it is physical rather than moral injury that is traced to the demon, the Apostles as well as their Master recognize the immense control of the unseen world of evil upon the present life. In Ephesians vi. 10 ff. the Christian life is pictured as a terrific struggle "against world-rulers of this darkness, against spiritual hosts of wickedness in heavenly places," and in Romans viii. 38 the love of God is said to be the one protection against the angelic powers. This awe of the mysterious realm of evil dominates Christian thought even in the sub-apostolic age, when Justin Martyr traces sensual sin to demonic influence.

Widespread as was the practice of magic it had from early days been connected with Egypt. The "magicians of Egypt" (Exod. vii. 11) were identified in Jewish tradition with Jannes and Jambres (2 Tim. iii. 8), sons of Balaam, the reputed father of sorcery. Samaritans, many of whom were living in the Fayum at the opening of our era, became in time unholy partners with the Egyptians in this traffic. The geographical situation of Samaria had affected its history from the beginning. Lying open on all sides it welcomed foreigners and foreign influences, and at the time of Alexander the Great capitulated to Greek civilization, which spread rapidly by a ready access on the West from the sea, and on the East through the Decapolis. A country rich and fair, it suffered deterioration from its opulence, supporting a population whose certain decay followed on the indiscriminate hospitality with which it received Pagan influences, Hellenism, or any strange teaching or superstition from Asia Minor, Egypt, or the further Orient. The leading city of the district was Samaria, originally hellenized by Alexander, and retaining a strong Greek element down till the time of Herod the Great, who

enlarged it in honour of Augustus, called it Sebasté, and gave a vast impetus to Greek culture and religion.

The account of the conversion of Samaria is given in Acts viii. 4-25, ix. 31. Samaria was only semi-pagan, and was well fitted to be the halfway house for the Gospel as it went to the nations of the world. Our Lord Himself may have laid the foundations of a Christian Church at Shechem, for the welcome He received was generous, and the faith of those who believed on Him was the purest He had yet seen (John iv. 39-42). Samaria's inglorious record was sustained by Simon Magus with his assumption of divine power and the practice of magic. He may well have been the Balaam of the Samaritans as that character is represented by tradition. There is little reason for doubting that Simon reverted to his type, and it is equally probable that a number of those who had been attracted by the Apostles' manifestations of power, rather than by the moral excellence of their teaching, shortly succumbed to the baleful influences that pervaded their society. As time went on Samaria's rank, luxurious, half-heathen life proved to be a breeding ground for pestilential heresies in the early Church. On its surface were thrown up false messiahs, one Dositheus as early as the beginning of our era, the spiritual father of notorious successors—Simon (probably the Simon Magus of Acts), Menander, Cleobius, the first of whom drew the deepest scar across the Church's life. By the time of the outbreak of the Jewish war in 66 A.D. the population of Samaria had become chiefly heathen through the introduction of soldiers under the government of the procurators.

Thus the seed of the word often fell among thorns which soon sprang up and threatened to choke it. But these thorns were of different species; and the false growth against which the Gospel had to make headway in the Churches to which 2 Peter was written is of its own kind

and almost unique in the New Testament, though there are other specimens of the same family.

A still active prophecy is employed for the propagation of error (ii. 1). The libertines, who abused the privilege of "teaching," had been Christians; indeed, they still claimed the name, or at least the right of sharing in the sacred feasts of the Church (ii. 13, 14, 21). They made great boast of freedom, and set forth self-chosen opinions¹ in opposition to Christian truth, which is a categorical imperative from the Lord who bought them (ii. 1, 2, 21). Their teaching was primarily practical not speculative immorality. Their characteristic vice was that of the fallen angels, the antediluvian world and the cities of the plain, and was indulged with the utmost shamelessness. Greed is equally characteristic of their selfishness. Men count with them for nothing; for lust or for money they will traffic in their souls (ii. 3, 13-15).

If these false teachers were wandering or local "goetae," who had once been Christians, or who had assumed the Christian name in order to push their avaricious commerce in lust among the Churches of Samaria, and if this letter was a circular epistle meant to forestall their work, we have a plausible situation.

They may have had a few speculative tenets, but certainly the day had not yet come for the imaginative structures of later Gnosticism. Several elements of a system may however be detected—they do not fear to blaspheme glories (ii. 10); they follow in the way of Balaam (ii. 15); they deny the Parousia (iii. 4); they undervalue prophecy (i. 17-21, iii. 2, 4); and distort Christian writings (iii. 16).

Like Elymas they are a parallel phenomenon to the false

¹ The common opinion that *αἰρέσεις ἀνωλετας* is to be taken in the sense of "heresies," as used in the 2nd century, is unfounded, for (1) there is only one type of "heresy" in this Epistle; (2) the qualifying *ἀνωλετας* distinguishes it from the absolute singular which in the 2nd century had come to be a deadly sin (Ign. Eph. 6², Trall. 6¹).

prophets of the Old Testament, who were directed by a spirit of lying, and often had recourse to the evil arts of Egypt (Isa. viii. 19, xix. 3; Acts xiii. 6; 2 Pet. ii. 1, 15). Balaam had become the conventional type of those who employ divine gifts to lead others into licentiousness and idolatry for the sake of gain. He was the arch-magician, the father of sorcerers. Now, the description "they utter swelling words of vanity" (ii. 18) would exactly suit the extravagant claims put forward, for example, by Simon Magus, when he gave out that he was "the Power of God which is called great" (Acts viii. 10; cf. 2 Pet. i. 16), or the bombastic spells of exorcists—blasphemous speech bordering on idolatry, which, as in the case of false prophecy in the Old Testament, is vain because it has not the true God as its object (cf. LXX. Ezek. xiii. 6, 9, 19; Dan. xi. 36 Th.). In their audacity these false teachers claim to be superior to the whole hierarchy of evil dignities, which perhaps, like the Sadducees, with whom the Samaritans had points of contact, they ignored, or claimed to hold in check by their incantations. They probably justified their immoral conduct by tracing evil to these spirits, for whom they would show their contempt by openly indulging their passions (ii. 10–12). The belief was persistent that the wickedness of the earth was to be traced to fallen angels (Enoch vi.–viii.; *Iren., Adv. Hær.* i. 31, 2; *Clem. Recog.* ii. 13); and the supposition that these libertines were using magic to help out their utter disregard of morality and of the unseen spiritual hierarchy, is rendered probable by the fact that the author uses the punishment of the fallen angels, who introduced sorcery and lust into the world, as his first warning against the false teachers. As the Jewish false prophet of Acts xiii. 10 was full of guile and reckless mischief, and perverted the right ways of the Lord, so do these men practise deceit and make havoc of their associates, having left the right way (ii. 3, 13, 15). Their doom, pronounced of old on such evil, is

certain. They are children of a curse, sons of the devil (ii. 3, 14; Deut. xviii. 9-12; Acts viii. 20, xiii. 10). They endanger young converts who had found that Christ was really a power for godliness in their lives. The name of Jesus is no exorcist's charm. Where He was preached He was a living power—not through vain repetition of His name, but by a real knowledge of what He is (ii. 21)—against the spirit of evil. He is the stronger man who had cast out the demon of lust and had brought life and godliness (i. 3, 16, ii. 20, 21). These false teachers boast of their freedom indeed; but whatever outward success they may have in exorcism, their high-sounding words are impotent against the grip of the strong man who holds them slaves in pollution (ii. 18, 19). All this was the most direct denial of the Christ who has purchased the Christian, for it was to say that His redemptive life and death were unnecessary (ii. 1).

Another element in this error was the denial of the Parousia. This doctrine had been one of the two pillars of apostolic teaching. Christ was a present power for life and godliness: He will come again to judge the quick and the dead (i. 16). Like the Greeks of Asia Minor, and probably the Hellenistic Jews, these libertines seem to have denied a bodily resurrection (1 Cor. xv. 12; 2 Tim. ii. 18) on the ground that emancipation from the body rather than its resurrection was the hope of the future. But, further, Samaritans and Sadducees always had more or less intercourse with one another. The former borrowed from the Sadducees the denial of the resurrection.¹ If there is no resurrection of the body there can be no Parousia and no judgment for sins committed in the body. Possibly they held that matter is eternal, for the writer appeals to Scripture to prove that by the word of God the world was created and is sustained (iii. 5).

¹ See Nutt's *Sketch of Samaritan Literature*.

They also made light of Scripture prophecy (i. 17-21, iii. 4), though there is not a sign of the later Gnostic tenet that the Old Testament was the product of the world-God. If, as may have been the case, the old Samaritan prejudice against prophecy was still leavening even the Christian communities, we get a reasonable explanation of the apparent disregard for the promises of God. Like some of their contemporaries these errorists, further, played fast and loose with Christian writings (iii. 16; 2 Thess. ii. 2; Rev. xxii. 18-19).

There are no personal greetings in 2 Peter; so it may have been a circular letter to the Church throughout Samaria, to whose composite population, Pagan, Greek, and old-stock Samaritan, the descriptions of i. 1, ii. 1, 18 would be appropriate. Their Apostles, who preached the Gospel to them (i. 16, iii. 2), were Peter and John; they made known the power and Parousia of a living Saviour, in contrast with the "cunningly devised fables" and "feigned words" of false messiahs like Simon. The invasion of the false teachers is not yet fully come: they are partly present, partly imminent. Peter probably recognized the beginnings of a revival of the influence of the magicians and false prophets which had received a set-back in the Christianization of the cities of Samaria. The heresy may have retired to more pagan sections where it lurked for a while, scotched not killed. It was merely a question of time when it would present itself anew in Christian centres with all its venom. Forerunners are already hard at the work of perversion, and are tempting to apostasy some of those baptized perhaps by Philip, but who had never forgotten the fascination of their earlier superstition; and are making havoc of more recent neophytes impatient of the stringency of Christian morals in a semi-pagan environment (ii. 18).

Nor is it difficult to discover conditions for the letter of

Paul (iii. 15). We know that he visited Caesarea more than once, and was confined there for two years before he went to Rome, though not so strictly but that he might have communicated through visitors or by letter with his Churches. Twenty-five miles to the west of Samaria lay Caesarea, the seaport of the whole region. It was the gateway to the Gentile world and was a strategical point for Peter, when at the bidding of God he inaugurated a new era by bringing the Gospel to Cornelius, not long after a kindred work had been accomplished in Samaria. Paul must have always had a deep interest in the first Churches which were not strictly Jewish, and may have written them a letter from Caesarea, or may possibly have sent an epistle to Caesarea and these hellenized cities of Samaria which had intimate mutual relations.

Symeon (Simon) Peter addresses the readers (i. 1). The time to fold up his tent for his last journey draws nigh (i. 14), though he has hope of leaving them some further memorial of the Gospel (i. 15). All this is perhaps an indication that the letter was written shortly before he left Antioch for Rome. When he sends our first Epistle to the Churches of Asia Minor his more distinctively Palestinian name has been shortened to Peter. A probable date for 2 Peter would be about 60 A.D., when the synoptic groundwork was taking its form.¹

The home of magic, of false messiahs and of Sadducean sensuality, its doors open on the West to Egyptian superstition, its eastern border studded by Greek cities of the Decapolis, where theosophy and lust in the service of religion were rampant, the province of Samaria would supply just the material for the evil practices and theories presupposed by this Epistle.

The two types of error in the New Testament most germane to the teaching just outlined are found in 1 Corinthians

¹ Compare especially the eschatology of the Synoptic Gospels.

and in the Revelation. Indeed, Professors Bigg and Zahn are inclined to identify these manifestations with that of 2 Peter. Professor Ramsay holds that the description in the second chapter of our Epistle is drawn from the same class of persons as is alluded to in the messages to Pergamus and Thyatira (Rev. ii.), and whose action in Corinth prompted Paul's references in 1 Corinthians viii. 10, xi. 22. "The teaching of Balaam" has become by the time of the Apocalypse (ii. 14) a stereotyped formula. Professor Ramsay is also of the opinion that on the whole the time of Revelation is later than that of 2 Peter (*EXPOSITOR*, Feb., 1901). But it seems to me that 1 Corinthians and Revelation present forms of error with much greater mutual kinship than exists between either and that of 2 Peter. In 2 Peter the feasts are Christian love-feasts (though the name is probably not yet used), not in any way connected with heathen temples and their gross fornication; nor is there any allusion to the demonic influences of idolatry, nor to fellowship in pagan clubs.

A comparison with Colossians, and especially with the Pastorals, reveals some close resemblances to our Epistle. But the differences are equally patent. Their false teaching is a parasite from the Jewish law that has fastened on Christianity. The trivial casuistry of the Haggada and the Halacha engaged these errorists, who also practised—at least some of them—an asceticism which may be traced to a Jewish origin (Hort). The Colossians, in addition, instead of despising angels gave them undue reverence.

Thus, though no other New Testament writing reflects precisely the error of 2 Peter and Jude, the germs of which it was composed were found throughout the Orient at the beginning of our era, and in various sections of the Christian Church in the Apostolic Age, having been borne on every wind from Egypt, Samaria, Syria or Asia Minor, in which great beds of weed had run to head.

There are insuperable difficulties against placing this Epistle in the second century:—(1) The absence of any developed theosophical system such as that of Carpocrates with aeons, transmigrations, and the distinction between the Supreme and the Creator God. The other antinomian heresies described by Irenaeus do not afford any closer analogy. (2) Not only is there no suggestion of Chiliasm in iii. 8, which contains a quotation employed by Barnabas, Justin Martyr and Irenaeus in its support, but at the end of the third century Methodius of Olympus cites 2 Peter as an apostolic authority against the Chiliastic interpretation of the Johannine Apocalypse. Yet Chiliasm was the orthodox belief in the second century in circles in which Alexandrian thought is as rare as it is in 2 Peter. Nor is there a hint of Antichrist commonly associated with Chiliasm, as may be seen from the *Ascensio Isaiae* as well as the Apocalypse of John. (3) Silence regarding ecclesiastical organization, the fixed authority of “the Twelve,” or the Church. By contrast we may cite the *Didaché* and the *Ascensio Isaiae*. Baptism and the Lord’s Supper are not referred to in any of the distinctive terms applied to them in the second century.

R. A. FALCONER.

*DISCOVERIES OF A VICARIOUS ELEMENT IN
PRIMITIVE SEMITIC SACRIFICE.*

IF there should be found in the library of the ancient city of Ur clay tablets on which Assyriologists should read that victims were to be offered as substitutes for men it would be considered an important discovery. If at all points in lands, where men of Semitic speech and lineage have lived, inscriptions of a similar age and purport were brought to light, proof positive would be thought to exist, not only of vicarious sacrifice among the ancient Semites, but also of the probable existence of such an element from the earliest dawn of Semitic history.

Ancient records on stone, clay tablets, skins, papyrus, and parchment are considered of the highest importance. The sensation of the discovery of the Sinaitic manuscript has not been forgotten, nor the importance of the great find of the Tell el-Amarna tablets. At the present day there is nothing which so fascinates the Biblical scholar in Bible lands as the discovery of some inscription—Greek, Roman, Phœnician, or Hebrew.

But there is a new field of archæological investigation, not less important in its opportunities and in its results, where we may listen to the speech of the childhood of the Semitic race and witness its usages.

At the first blush this field, when described, may seem to be purely imaginary. Such changes have taken place in the ideas and habits of men, so far as we have studied history, that it may seem incredible to us that the Semitic world, which has felt more or less the impress of such historic religions as Christianity and Islam, should have preserved any certain traces of primitive Semitic belief and usage. But there were extensive populations in whom neither the baptism of Christianity nor the sword of Islam

produced conversion. The Bedawin never yielded anything but the most nominal allegiance to Islam. Indeed, saving a few phrases taken from the Koran and turning toward Mecca, they were in no genuine sense Moslems. The same may be said of the Fellahin. They have remained true to the beliefs and practices of their fathers from hoary antiquity. No scholar who has been much among them, and who has carefully studied them, doubts this. Indeed it has passed into a proverb that the East, as represented by the Nomads and the Fellahin, so far as they have dwelt apart from civilization, has remained unchanged. To this statement might be added another, which holds for Syria and Palestine, that among professed Moslems and Christians primitive beliefs and usages may be found cropping out as surely as in some localities primitive rock appears, notwithstanding the predominance of later geological formations.

Among the Arabs, the Fellahin, and even the professed Christians and Moslems of Syria and Palestine is a field of unsurpassed importance for investigation by the Biblical interpreter or the student of comparative religion. There may be laid bare at the present day a stage of belief and usage to all intents and purposes precisely the same as when God began to make a revelation of Himself through the sacred Scriptures.

The writer of this article has not sought to establish any theory through the investigation of this field—quite the contrary. His first visit to the Holy Land, Egypt and the Sinaitic peninsula for a period of fourteen months, was purely to satisfy the longing of a Biblical student to see the lands, which, for many years, had engaged his attention. Had he been told what line his studies would take it would have been a great surprise to him. It is true that early in his travels in the autumn of 1898 among the sacred groves and high places of Northern Syria he first received the suggestion of the investigations which were to engage his

attention during three successive summers (1900-1902). But it was farthest from his thought to establish any theory.

He left Syria in the summer of 1899 with the full persuasion that the lamented W. Robertson Smith was fully justified by the facts which the writer had observed in maintaining that the "sacrificial meal" was the earliest form of sacrifice. His surprise was therefore very great when fact after fact appeared completely disproving this theory as he sought confirmation for it, and establishing, as it seemed to him and his companion,¹ in the most absolute way that the vicarious element in sacrifice is a primitive Semitic idea, or perhaps better, usage. Some may ask, Did not this idea come to the Arabs from Judaism and Christianity through Islam? This is as good as impossible. Islam has never been hearty in its reception of the notion of vicarious suffering, though that notion existed in the time of the companions of the Prophet, as the author of an Arabic work translated by Sir William Muir has shown in a powerful way.² But its present existence is rather in spite of Islam than because Islam has any predilection for vicarious suffering. It seeks in the mouths of orthodox exponents to explain away everything which might indicate such an idea. There is no evidence whatever that Arabs and Fellahin have derived their phraseology and usage, which point so infallibly to vicarious suffering, from Islam. On the contrary, the primitive character of these ideas has made it impossible for Islam to surpress them.

Sacrifice was a primitive institution among men who never heard of the Old Testament, millenniums before there was any record of a Divine revelation concerning it. The same is true of blood-sprinkling. In another place³ the writer has discussed these institutions in the light of sur-

¹ Rev. J. Stewart Crawford.

² *The Torch of Guidance to the Mystery of Redemption*, London.

³ *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*, London, 1902.

prising discoveries, as it seems to him, made last summer. Positions which he then deemed firmly established through many examples have been so confirmed through recent investigations as to possess the strongest certainty.

1. The fact is established that among all classes of people, not only among Arabs and ignorant Fellahin, but also among nominal Christians and the various sects of Islam, sacrifice exists. All over the Moslem world on the tenth of the pilgrim month the *daḥiyeh* sacrifice, as it is called, is slain.

2. But aside from this sacrifice, among all except Protestant Christians and those who have come under their influence, thousands of victims are killed mostly in payment of vows.

Among Moslems these sacrifices are set apart by the repetition of the first Sura of the Koran, and among some nominal Christians at least, perhaps in imitation of the Moslem custom, by the repetition of the Apostles' Creed. Some of those Arabs who cannot even repeat the first Sura say: "In the name of God, God is great."

No part of the animal comes upon an altar unless the threshold of the house or *olerine* is regarded as such, when the blood of the victim is sometimes shed, or the rock used by some Arabs be regarded as such. Indeed, fire is never used for the consumption of any part of the sacrifice.

3. All of the flesh which has been used in sacrifice, after the priest¹ has received his due,² is eaten by the one sacrificing and his friends, or by the poor, but this is not necessarily the case. If an Arab, who has immolated a victim at the grave of an ancestor, has not time to eat it, the slaughtering suffices. This is also true with respect to thousands of victims slain yearly in the valley of Muna, near Mecca. They are not eaten by those offering them, but are buried or left to the Arabs, thus showing that

¹ The Moslems use the term "servant" instead of priest.

² This due is a hind quarter.

the significance of the sacrifice is in the slaughtering. Thence it is clear that eating is not an essential part of sacrifice.

4. Sacrifices are declared to have a vicarious character. The practice of offering a sacrifice on the completion of new houses is universal. When the Arab sets up his tent of goat's hair for the first time he slays a victim, unless he is too poor. Nominal Christians and Moslems of all sects do the same. Even Protestants sometimes cannot withstand the clamour of their friends of another faith. Concretely stated, the necessity for such sacrifice is this: "Every building must have its death-man, woman, child, or animal. God has appointed a redemption for every building through sacrifice."¹ If the animal dies the inhabitants of the house can live.

Sacrifice for the dead illustrates the same general principle. The tendency of Islam is to change the meaning, so that the sacrifices are often conceived of as donations of food given to the poor. But this is not the primitive Semitic conception. It is rather expressed by the formula given by a woman of the Sygad tribe of Arabs, who said of sacrifices for the dead that they were *fejr dem'an ruh el-meyetim*, "the bursting forth of blood for the spirit of the dead." They also say they kill animals for their dead on behalf of his spirit. They call them *fedou*. They go before him as light, serve him in the next life as he approaches God. They become a *Reffareh* for his sins.

The sacrifices offered at the reconciliation of the avenger of blood to the murderer of a near relative might be supposed to partake mostly of the character of a sacrificial meal. But peace must first be established through death. The blood of the animal is shed for the murderer before the avenger of blood will kiss his beard in token of reconciliation, and partake of the feast which follows as a sign that

¹ *Primitive Semitic Religion*, p. 65.

they are one in fellowship. It is *dem bedl dem*—"blood for blood," that is the blood of the animal is for that of the murdered man. The idea is also expressed by the sentence *fejr ed-dem ghaṭṭa dhak ed-dem*, "Shed-blood covered that blood," that is, the blood of the victim covered that of the murdered man.

5. The terms employed in indicating the essential element in sacrifice, including those just given, must be considered conclusive evidence of the existence of the idea of vicarious sacrifice among the primitive Semites. The expression *fejr ed dem*, "the bursting forth of blood," is of almost universal application with respect to sacrifice.

The word *fedou* is very common, and was thus defined by the khâtih of Deir Atiyeh in the Syrian Desert: "*Fedou* means that it redeems the other, in place of the other, substitute for the other. Something is going to happen to a man, and the sacrifice is a substitute for him. It prevents disease, sufferings, robbery and enmity. . . . Repent of your sins, and hope that God may cover your sins. Both repentance and the *fedou* cover."

Another said in regard to *Keffareh*, which is from the same root as the Hebrew *kipper*, when asked, "Does it cover sin?" "Who knows whether it covers sin, or how many sacrifices can cover sin? God only can cover it, but they offer it in the hope it will be covered." 15

It is certain from a great number of examples gathered from all parts of the country that slaughtering was the original form of sacrifice, and that the meal which follows is merely incidental.

It is also clear that the life taken is more or less in place of another, as the expressions "head for head," "spirit for spirit," show. The victim dies that man or animal may live. This idea seems to run through every kind of sacrifice where animal life is surrendered.

Nor is it less certain that the Bedawin from time imme-

morial have received the custom of shedding substitute blood from the cradle of the Semitic race, nor is it less true that such vicarious sacrifices, which are counter to the spirit of Christianity and Islam, have had power, in connexion with other primitive institutions, to maintain themselves to the present time.

If this be so, whatever use may be made of the fact, it is not difficult to see that such investigations, if properly conducted, are not less important in studying the history of Divine revelation than the unearthing of ancient literatures, whether on stone, parchment, clay tablets, or papyrus.

SAMUEL IVES CURTISS.

ON THE MEANING AND SCOPE OF JEREMIAH
VII. 22, 23.

AMONG those passages of the Old Testament which are important for the investigation of the history of worship in Israel the passage Jeremiah vii. 22, 23 stands in the very front rank. But while there is general agreement as to the importance of this passage, there is just as general disagreement in regard to its interpretation. Seeing that a question of grammar plays a predominant part in the ascertaining of the true sense of this passage, and also inasmuch as I think I can contribute something to the answering of the question, I ask permission to set forth the considerations upon which the interpretation and the religious-historical significance of the passage depends.

The passage in question marks a turning-point in the course of thought contained in that discourse of Jeremiah which includes cc. vii. 1 to ix. 25 and x. 17-25.¹ From the position occupied by the speaker according to chap. vii. 2, this may be call his "Temple discourse."² For at the very entrance of the house of Jahveh the prophet was to proclaim the one true means of obtaining the favour of God.

¹ That x. 1-16 is not from Jeremiah is proved by linguistic considerations (see my *Einleitung in das A.T.*, p. 337).

² "The gate of the house of Jahveh" (vii. 2a) is the main portal of the *outer* forecourt, for "all Judah," to whom the discourse is first directed, consisted of course for the most part of laymen, who were only permitted to enter the *outer* forecourt, and only in a secondary degree of temple-servants (cf. vii. 21; viii. 1 f., 10), who might also, in consequence of their place of abode, be reckoned with Judah. Compare Num. xxxv. 1-8; Josh. xv. 54; xxi. 11 (Hebron), etc., which show that the Levitical towns remained as parts of their respective tribal districts. It is true that *בֵּית יְהוָה* in Jud. xvii. 7 is remarkable on account of the asyndeton, and is wanting in LXX. (B) and Pesch.; it is, however, only a trace of a double narrative (cf. further *Einleitung*, p. 252), so that the suggestion that *בֵּית יְהוָה* has been substituted for *בֵּית לֵוִי* (Budde, *Kurzer Handcommentar*, 1897, *ad loc.*) is unnecessary. "There was a young man out of the tribe (*בֵּית לֵוִי*=*בֵּית לֵוִי*, Jud. xiii. 2; xvii. 7; cf. Siegfried-Stade, *Hebr. Wörterbuch*, p. 389a) of Judah" could be said also of one belonging to Levi. Compare especially *בֵּית לֵוִי*, 1 Sam. i. 1b with 1 Chron. vi. 13, 18.

This sole means consisted (in accordance with *v. 3a*) in the good quality of the people's ways (דִּישׁוּר), that is in their conduct depending on particular motives and their individual activities. This excellent quality in the behaviour of the nation is to show itself, however (*v. 5a*), specially in the avoidance of a particular social evil and of the great religious evil of the period, in the avoidance, that is, of illegal oppression (*vv. 5b, 6a*)¹ and of idolatry (*vv. 6b, 9a, b*). The deceptive ground of hope on which the majority were trusting is described as the idea that Jerusalem, being the Temple city, could never be destroyed (*vv. 3b, 4, 11 f., 14 f.*).

Even the prophet's intercession cannot turn aside the consequent threatening of judgment, and he is not even to make an attempt in that direction (*v. 16a*). For the period of Divine long-suffering was at an end for the time (*v. 16b*) because Judah's religious backsliding had become wholly open and shameless. For alongside of the personification of the sun in Baal (*v. 9a*) the pantheon of the majority at that time contained as its chiefest star the shining figure of the queen of heaven (*v. 17f.*). The expression מַלְכַּת הַשָּׁמַיִם indicated a feminine Being; for the phrase stands parallel with "other gods" (*vii. 18b, xlv. 15a, 17a*), and is therefore itself intended as a description of a divinity. That the phrase is six times represented by לֵה (xlv. 17-19, 25) points in the same direction, seeing that at least an alternation of לֵה and לֵהֶם might have been expected if מַלְכַּת הַשָּׁמַיִם were to be understood as a collective substantive. The same interpretation finds further support in the facts that this מַלְכַּת הַשָּׁמַיִם came into consideration, in the first place, as an object of women's worship (*vii. 18; xlv. 15a*—"the men who knew that their wives," etc.), that "the

¹ Cf. Amos ii. 6; iii. 9 f.; v. 7; Hos. iii. 2; vi. 9; Isa. i. 10, 17; iii. 15; v. 8; x. 2, etc.; Micah ii. 2; iii. 2 f.; Jer. vii. 6; xxii. 3; Ezek. xx. 7, 29; Zech. vii. 10; Mal. iii. 5.

Assyrians also seem to have ascribed to Ištar the additional title Malkatu,"¹ and that among the Phœnicians also "Astarte of the high heavens" is mentioned.² The LXX. also gives τῇ βασιλίσση τοῦ οὐρανοῦ in li. 18 ff., and the Peschitta in xliv. 19 Malkat Sch'majjā. This Syriac form reminds us also of the fact that the punctuation M'lekheth is not to have the sense of "Queen," but must point to מְלַאכָּת, a form which is also found in *Codices* (cf. my *Lehrgebäude*, vol. ii. p. 169), and is further confirmed by מַלְכִּיָּה, which is always found in the Peschitta (except in xliv. 19), and could easily pass over into ἡ στρατιὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ or the מְלַאכָּת שְׁמַיָּא of the Targum through the suggestion of Gen. xxxiii. 14, and Jer. viii. 2.

After the speaker has thus pointed to this as the one true source of the Divine favour, he comes to that section of his discourse, whose interpretation and bearing is to be the subject of the following discussion.

If we seek to connect this discussion with the foregoing exposition, then the connection between vii. 16–20 and vii. 21–28 is undoubtedly the following. Just as little as the divinely determined punishment consequent upon the shameless religious backsliding of the majority of that period can be turned aside by the intercession of the prophet (v. 16–20), even as little can it be averted by the sacrificial worship offered to Jahveh. But *why* is this not to be effected even by sacrificial offerings directed towards Jahveh? What attitude does Jahveh assume towards sacrificial worship in vii. 21 ff.? To obtain an answer to this question let us advance from the particular to the general.

Concerning the summons with which the Divine pronouncement begins in v. 21b, "Add your burnt offerings

¹ Schrader, "die מְלַאכָּת הַשָּׁמַיִם und ihr Aramäisch-Assyrisches Aequivalent" (*Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1886), p. 488. See further details there.

² Eschmunazar-Inscription, line 16, עֲשֵׂתֶרֶת שָׁמַם אֲדָרָם.

unto your slaughter-offerings," it was said already by Kimchi,¹ "This imperative does not involve a gracious command (*i.e.* an actual or positive one), but it is as if a man said to his comrade, 'Do what you please: it will avail you nothing.'" This summons is an expression of the Divine irony. For what can be signified by the following phrase, *et edite carnem* (= *ut edatis carnem*) as the effect of obeying this imperative? It can be only this, that the opportunities to enjoy the flesh of sacrifices will be multiplied. This would follow if the animals set apart for burnt offerings² had been employed for slaughter offerings,³ which, apart from the fat and the blood, were consumed by the bringers of offerings or by the priests (Lev. iii. 3 f., etc.; vii. 15-18, 31; xix. 6; Deut. xii. 27b). Now, since the eating of flesh was comparatively rare in ancient Palestine,⁴ frequent indulgence in it is a mark of a luxurious mode of living. Moreover, v. 21 does not mean "Consume for yourselves alone whole-offering and slaughter-offering, without presenting any to Me, without doing anything to preserve the sacrificial character of the offering" (Bredenkamp, *Gesetz und Propheten*, p. 110). That interpretation follows from inattention to the actual words. They declare rather that the burnt-offering is to be added to the slaughter-offering, and so the sacrificial character of the particular slaughter is to be preserved, and only modified in degree. Neither is the reference to "the presentation of accumulated burnt and slaughter-offerings" (Keil, *ad loc.*).

¹ *e.g.* in the *Biblia Rabbinica* of Buxtorf, הצווי הזה אינו למצוה רצונית, אלא כלומר לחברו עשה מה תעשה כי לא יתעלך

² Lev. i. 7-9; Deut. xii. 27a; cf. Relandi *Antiquitates Sacrae Veterum Hebraeorum*, III. ii. § 6, de holocaustis: "In altari conflagrabant omnes omnino animalium partes, excepto ventriculo et, ut quidam volunt, intestinis et folliculo fellis. Eximebatur etiam nervus luxationis" (Gen. xxxii. 33; cf. Chullin, vii. 1).

³ Rosenmüller, *Scholia, ad locum*, gives the right explanation: "utrumque genus sacrificiorum eodem modo habeant Judaei."

⁴ Benzinger, *Grundriss der hebräischen Archäologie*, p. 89.

Accordingly v. 21 contains the declaration that the Deity on His part takes no interest in the burnt offerings as such, as part of the system of sacrifices.

Such an interest in the performance of sacrifices might plainly be either material or formal. Against the former there is an indirect protest in Isaiah i. 11, לֵמִיָּה לִי וְגו', and in Jeremiah vii. 21, and a direct protest in Psalm l. 9-13. Still the *formal* interest of the Deity in the performance of sacrifices might have consisted in the fact that through their zealous performance the Divine demand for sacrifice might have found its fulfilment. Now, according to v. 22, was there in the Deity a formal interest of this kind in the performance of sacrifices?

In the first place, in the opening words of v. 22, "For I spake not unto your fathers," the expression "unto your fathers" may include both the congregation of the people and Moses; but the former is certainly referred to, indeed it is put in the foreground. Now a distinction is drawn in the Pentateuch between such ordinances of God as come from Him promulgated before the whole people, and such as come through Moses as intermediary; cf. Exodus xx. 18 f., 22 f.; xxi. 1; xxiv. 3, etc. Especially in Deuteronomy, with which Jeremiah in other respects also shows so many points of contact, both in form and thought, observe chapter v. 4. Moreover, after the proclamation of the Decalogue (vv. 6-18), it is expressly stated, "These words Jahveh spake unto all your assembly, out of the midst of the fire, of the cloud and the darkness, with a great voice; and He added no more." That is to say, these words alone were addressed by God to the whole assembly.¹

Seeing that the distinction, so clearly made in the

¹ For other observations on the distinction between those to whom the commandments were addressed, a distinction not noticed elsewhere, see my *Einleitung*, p. 187 f. Concerning the relations, both in form and thought, between Jeremiah and Deuteronomy, cf. *ibid.* p. 217 ff.

Pentateuch, is evidently in harmony with the phrase chosen by Jeremiah in v. 22, "I spake not *with your fathers*," we shall proceed most securely by bearing this circumstance in mind. The idea which underlies this distinction between the commandments which were issued direct to the whole assembly and those which were issued through Moses, must be this, that a fundamental significance attaches to the former proclamation, for it includes the Ten Words (Exod. xxxiv. 28; Deut. iv. 13; x. 4); that is to say, the ten chief precepts or religious-ethical principles.

This Divine proclamation or issue of commandments (לֹא צִוִּיתִים) further took place "on the day when I led them out of the land of Egypt." Exactly the same expression is used by Jeremiah in xi. 4, where the words of the prophet recall Exodus xix. 5 f., and at the same time (on account of "ex fornace ferri") Deuteronomy iv. 20. The same definition of time is also made use of in xxxi. 32, where Jeremiah is expressly referring back to the formation of the Covenant, which nevertheless took place at Sinai. The same form of expression is found, moreover, in xxxiv. 13, where reference is made to the laws concerning Hebrew domestic slaves, laws which were given at Sinai (Exod. xxi. 2) and repeated at the Jordan (Deut. xv. 12). It follows that the formula in question referred to the time of the Exodus from Egypt *in general*, to which Jeremiah alludes also in the word יום in xi. 7, בְּיוֹם הַעֲלִייתִי. The central point and the climax of that whole Exodus period was, however, the time of the sojourn at Sinai.

The prophet did not, by that description of time, refer to the beginning of the migration to the exclusion of the sojourn at Sinai (in view, as it might be, of Exodus vi. 7, "and I will take you to Me for a people," or xv. 26, 'אֲנִי שְׂמֹעַ תִּשְׁמַע וְנִי'). It is true that this interpretation has been actually tried; for David Kimchi remarked on בְּיוֹם

רָצִי'וֹ, "Many explain that this was the first commandment, and that that which He commanded in Marah is that of which it is said (Exod. xv. 25b), 'there He made for them a statute and an ordinance,' and also that of which our Rabbis, of blessed memory, said,¹ 'Sabbath and statutes do I impose in Marah, and (=but) He gave not commandment concerning (עַל דְּבַר) burnt offering and slaughter-offering.'" This meaning for the phrase 'בְּיוֹם רָצִי' is shown to be impossible by what has been already said of the sense in which Jeremiah uses it. The bringing out of Israel from Egypt did not in any case take place on one day, and even the legislation given at Marah could not have been promulgated on this "day."

In the next place, we find coordinated with the Divine address, dated from the time of the Exodus, a Divine commandment, since it is said, "I spake not, and I commanded not" (לֹא צִוִּיתִי). This point must be made clear, because Bredenkamp, *Gesetz und Propheten*, p. 110, translates, "I did not speak with your fathers and command them . . . burnt offerings and slaughter-offerings," and assumes "the construction of צִוִּיתִי with an accusative of the object." This presupposes that he intends to make עוֹלָה וְזֶבֶח dependent only on צִוִּיתִי, and so to subordinate "I commanded" to the antecedent "I spake"; a view which Köhler also (*Lehrbuch der Geschichte*, II. 2, p. 27) traces to Bredenkamp. But since the לֹא before "I spake" is repeated also in לֹא צִוִּיתִי, the formal coordination of the two clauses is positively indicated. But there is also a negative consideration barring Bredenkamp's theory, namely, that the first verb לֹא דִבַּרְתִּי would be without an object, although it is surely not the purpose of the clause to deny that God spake unto the people on the occasion of the exodus of Israel from Egypt.

What, then, is it which is denied in regard to the Divine

¹ *Sanhedrin*, 56, l. 16, שֵׁם שֶׁם לוֹ חוֹק וּמִשְׁפָּט שֶׁבַח.

speaking and commanding which took place at the time of Israel's migration out of Egypt? A purpose, a reason, or an object? That depends, in the first place, on the sense of *עַל דְּבָרֵי* which appears in connection with the sentence, "I spake not with your fathers, and commanded them not when I brought them out of the land of Egypt, 'al dib^rè òla wazabach."

The preposition *עַל* is connected with *דְּבָרֵי* in such a way that the emphasis does not lie on "words"¹ in the following passages: Deuteronomy iv. 21 (*עַל־דְּבָרֵיכֶם*); 2 Samuel iii. 8; 2 Kings xxii. 13a; Jeremiah xiv. 1; ? Psalm vii. 1; 2 Chronicles xxxiv. 21 (|| 2 Kings xxii. 13a). Moreover, the same expression is used in the singular *עַל־דָּבָר* without *דָּבָר* having its proper sense of "word"² in Genesis xii. 17; xx. 11, 18; xliii. 18; Exodus viii. 8; Numbers xvii. 14; xxv. 18, three times; xxxi. 16 (in the combination *עַל־דָּבָר אִשֶּׁר*, Deuteronomy xxii. 24, twice; xxiii. 5; 2 Samuel xiii. 22); xviii. 5; Psalms xlv. 5; lxxix. 9. The phrase *עַל־דָּבָר אִשֶּׁר* is not found in 1 Chronicles x. 13, as would appear from Mandelkern's Concordance (1896), Col. 284 d; but Mandelkern has dropped *יְהוָה* after *דָּבָר* (compare my *Syntax*, § 389 m).³

¹ As in Genesis xxxvii. 8; 1 Kings x. 6; 2 Kings xxii. 13 b; Jeremiah vi. 19, vii. 8, xxiii. 16, xxvi. 5; Haggai i. 12; (?) Psalm vii. 1, *ὕπερ τῶν λόγων Χουσί* (*עַל תְּבִירָא*—pernices—*דִּשְׁמָאֵל*), or possibly "on account of Cush"; Proverbs xxx. 6; 1 Chronicles xxix. 29; 2 Chronicles ix. 29, xxxii. 8, xxxiii. 18 f.

² As in Isaiah lxvi. 2; Jeremiah i. 12; Proverbs xxix. 12.

³ Thus Marti, *Die Spuren der sogenannten Grundschrift des Pentateuchs* (in *Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie*, 1880), p. 318 f., who professes to give "a complete list of those passages in which *עַל־דָּבָר* occurs in the sense of a preposition," and who, according to Bredenkamp, *Gesetz und Propheten*, p. 109, has actually done so, omits the passages 2 Samuel iii. 8; 2 Kings xxii. 13a, where the sense "enquire now concerning the words of this book that has been found" (Targum, Peschitta, LXX., Klostermann) is hardly so probable as "enquire in regard to this book that has been discovered." For the king is not so likely to have referred to the particular contents of the discovered book. Indeed, in v. 13b he mentions "the words of this book" as quite plain. More probably he wished to have enquiries made about the book in general, its scope and bearing.

Now, does על־דברי ever signify "in the interest of a certain person, so that it points to the satisfaction of the inclinations of the person who stands in genetival relation with על־דברי? This sense would be possible in Numbers xxv. 18a, "through their wives, which they practised against you פֶּעַר פֶּעַר," where the meaning might be "in the interest of" or "for the satisfaction of" Peor. But the parallel phrase על־דבר כּוֹבִי וְנָ in v. 18b, which can only mean "and in regard to Cozbi, etc.," suggests that in v. 18a also the more general sense "in regard to" should be adopted. Onkelos has in both cases עַל עֵסֶק;¹ the Peschitta has both times כַּכֵּל, which signifies originally "in the interest of," but then also "in the matter of," or "in reference to." Lastly, the LXX. has both times διὰ, διὰ Φοργῶν καὶ διὰ Χασβί. It is no more probable that על־דבר has the sense of "in the interest of" in Numbers xxxi. 16. This significance, however, is recommended by Bredenkamp, *Gesetz und Propheten*, p. 110, for על דברי in Jeremiah vii. 22. He thinks indeed that we may punctuate and translate על־דְּבָרִי, or rather, after Deuteronomy iv. 21, עַל דְּבָרִי, "I did not speak with your fathers, and command them in that Mosaic period (to bring) burnt offering and slaughter-offering on My behalf" (in My interest and in view of My affairs). Nevertheless, this interpretation of על־דְּבָרִי not only finds no support, as has been shown above, in linguistic usage, but is absolutely prevented by the antithesis in Jeremiah vii. 22f. For what follows is not an antithesis to Bredenkamp's proposed "on My account," "in My interest," but runs, "rather have I commanded you this word." Moreover, "on My account"

¹ עַל עֵסֶק signifies "in or through active dealing with"; cf. עֵסֶקָ = "object," "thing"; עָסַק, "to busy oneself" (Levy, *Targumwörterbuch*, sub voc.), or "to endeavour after something," cf. עָסַק, eseq, "difficilis fuit"; with עָסַק, "offensus est" (Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*). Then the targumic עַל עֵסֶק has become the equivalent of על־דְּבָרִי.

would not agree with "I have spoken," and Köhler has already remarked, in his *Lehrbuch der Biblischen Geschichte*, II. 2, p. 27, that to express "on My account" the form למעני would rather be used.

Does על־דבר (י) in any passage signify "in the interest, for the purpose, for the obtaining, or for the procuring of a thing"? In his review of Guthe's dissertation *de foederis notione Jeremiana* (*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1877, 347) von Baudissin expresses the opinion that על־דבר in Psalm xlv. 5 certainly refers to the accomplishment of some object, to something which is to be striven after and is not already to hand. Now the phrase there, על דבר אמת, is rendered by the Peschitta quite literally with ܐܡܬܐ ܕܠܗܐ, by the Targum with על עסק ד'מנותא (see above, p. 143, note 1), and by the LXX. with *ἐνεκεν ἀληθείας*. These renderings provide no assistance in the interpretation of the expression in the text. But the connection of the phrase in question with "ride on" suggests rather "for the protection of the truth" than "for the establishment" of it. The same holds good with regard to "Help us, O God, our salvation" ¹ על דבר כבוד שמך, Psalm lxxix. 9, in spite of the parallel למען שמך.

Thus the passages, Psalm xlv. 5 and Psalm lxxix. 9, offer no sure foundation for the assumption that the meaning "for the purpose of" can be attached to על דבר. Certainly the phrase does not bear this sense in Jeremiah xiv. 1, "The word of the Lord came to Jeremiah in the matter of, or concerning, the great dearth" ² In fact, at the moment of reception of this announcement by the prophet the dearth was not even an event of the future.³

It would therefore be in the absence of any actual

¹ Genitive of apposition; see my *Syntax*, § 337d.

² This sense of the plural is at least possible, according to the analogues cited in the *Syntax*, § 259c.

³ As Marti holds (*Jahrb. für Prot. Theol.*, 1830, p. 320).

analogy if we were to assign to the phrase על־דברִי in Jeremiah vii. 22 the sense "for the purpose of," as Drechsler¹ interpreted "not in the interest of the sacrificial cultus did He give them His ordinances, not even those which certainly had to do with sacrifice in the first place." This interpretation also introduces a contradiction into the legislative action of the Deity which is not actually present in the relative sections of the Old Testament. For the requirements which prescribe the sacrifices run in such terms that they must certainly have been given in the interest of the sacrificial cultus.

Beyond all doubt, on the other hand, the phrases על־דברִי and על־דברִי have the causal signification, "by reason of," "for the sake of," for which also "in reference to" may have been understood.

This is certainly the case in regard to על־דברִי in Deuteronomy iv. 21, "and he was angry against me," על־דברִיכם; and also in 2 Samuel iii. 8, after וַיָּדֹר, and ? Psalm vii. 1; cf. above p. 08, note 1. Again, in regard to על־דברִי the causal signification is plain in Genesis xii. 17, after "and he plagued"; xx. 11, after "and they will slay me"; xx. 18, after "he closed up"; xliii. 18, in "because of the money that was returned, are we brought"; Exodus viii. 8, "cried because of the frogs"; Numbers xvii. 14, "died on account of (their connection with) Korah." The causal sense of על־דברִי is found also in Numbers xxv. 18 (see above, p. 09), and also in xxxi. 16; again in the three cases of the combination על־דברִי אִשֶׁר (Deut. xxii. 24; xxifi. 5; 2 Sam. xiii. 22), and also in the two passages discussed in a previous paragraph (Ps. xlv. 5 and lxxix. 9). The only remaining question is, whether, in every case where these phrases occur, the causal signification is suitable, as Bredenkamp thinks (*Gesetz und Propheten*, p. 109).

¹ Drechsler, *Die Unwissenschaftlichkeit im Gebiete der Alt-Testamentlichen Kritik*, 1837, p. 111.

Does the same hold good in regard to the remaining passages? In the passage already referred to—Jeremiah xiv. 1—the translation, “That which came as the word of Jehovah to Jeremiah *in consequence* of the dearth” is no more probable than “in the matter of,” *i.e.* “in reference to the great dearth.” For that announcement of Jahveh found in the prolonged calamity not only its occasion, but rather its *sphere*, or its *object*, to which it referred, inasmuch as it revealed the fact that this calamity was a punishment sent by God, which was not to be shortened by the intercession of the prophet (v. 10 ff.). Compare here also the simple װ and περί alongside of על עסקי. It is likewise in the case of “enquire in regard to this discovered book” (2 Kings xxii. 13a || 2 Chronicles xxxiv. 21, cf. p. 011, note 1). The non-causal significance is least doubtful in 2 Samuel xviii. 5, בצות וג' על־דבר אבשלום, (בצוֹת, ἐνέπ). For even if we were to choose the translation, “when the king gave command to the princes and officers as concerning Absalom,” yet “as concerning” would introduce not merely a circumstance or a causal adverbial clause (Arabic *ḥal* of motive). For the person who gave occasion for the issue of this command formed at the same time also the object of the command. It follows that (על־דבר) possesses also a sense which we may call the *objectival*.

This establishes, in the first place, the possibility that על־דבר in Jeremiah vii. 22 also introduces the so-called *objectum indirectum*. And this על־דבר can also signify “in reference to,” or “concerning” (cf. the Latin *de*).

This objectival interpretation of על־דבר in Jeremiah vii. 22 is also sanctioned by the Targum על עסקי, as well as by περί, and further supported by the fact that the Peschitta writes the simple װ. This acceptance of the phrase is moreover suggested by the verbs with which it is combined. For after the verbs “I spake” and “I commanded” an

object is most naturally looked for. On the other hand, if the phrase were to be taken in a causal sense, then "speak" and "command" would be without an object.

Now it is true that (1) "command" is used in other passages in such a way that the object is only indirectly expressed in the context, or not indicated at all. To the first class belongs, for example, the expression in Genesis xlii. 25, "Then Joseph gave commandment, and they¹ filled their vessels"; or in Jeremiah xiv. 14, "I sent them not, neither have I commanded them, neither spake unto them." If in the latter case צוה might, on account of the following "and spake not unto them," have the sense of "establish" (instituit, constituit), this is not supported by xxiii. 32, where we have לא שלחתי ולא צויתים, so that צוה is in the *positio absoluta*.² But (2) it is an altogether different question whether צוה is intended to be without an object in such cases as those where it is followed by על-דבר or על-דברי. Such an intention is by no means to be assumed in 2 Samuel xviii. 5b. For there צוה has already been constructed with an object in 5a. This object is expressed as a direct speech introduced by לאמר;³ and the object of the command thus enjoined is simply carried on in verse 5b in the same way as the logical object supplied from the immediate context is frequently carried on in Hebrew (cf. Genesis ii. 19 a, β, etc.). Neither is צוה intended to be continued without an object in Jeremiah vii. 22. For suppose we translate, "I did not speak, and I did not give commandment for the sake of the sacrifices, or because of the sacrifices"; then the commanding is related spontaneously to the sacrifices, and, in fact, to the offering of them. We may apply this translation as often as we please; we shall always find that the causal sense of על-דברי passes

¹ Compare a large collection of passages in my *Syntax*, §§ 361g, 369k.

² Concerning the *positio absoluta* of verbs see *Syntax*, § 209 b-c.

³ "Deal gently for me in regard to the young men."

over quite spontaneously into the objectival sense, so that this על־דברי signifies "on account of," or "in regard to," "in respect of." (3) This causal-objectival sense of על־דברי in Jeremiah vii. 22 is confirmed, lastly, by the antithesis of verse 23, "but this word I commanded them." For this displays, as the only natural meaning of the writer, that on the previous occasion also he intended the same word "command" (and "speak") to be continued with an object.

This positive sense of על־דברי in Jeremiah vii. 22 then, established from the context, is not to be overthrown by the question why the author did not write על, as in Numbers viii. 22, or the accusative.¹ Such a demand has no justification. For if only the expressions used by the author introduce the remote object of the speaking and commanding with sufficient clearness, and in consistency with the habits of speech observed elsewhere, then he has done enough, and we may not quarrel with him over the choice he has made between the synonymous phrases.

Moreover, the translation adopted by Jerome, "non præcepi iis *de verbo* holocaustum et victimarum," is probably a result of the religious-historical difficulty which lies in the phrasing of the passage. Dillmann's singular translation² ("not concerning things of sacrifice did God give instructions at the Exodus from Egypt, but did command that they should walk in His ways") also comes eventually to the objectival sense of על־דברי. A similar translation is given also by Keil, *ad loc.*: "Concerning things of burnt or slaughter-offering." "Words or things which referred specifically to the burnt or slaughter-offering; detailed instructions concerning offerings. The sense must be: God has not given all kinds of commandments concerning the offering of sacrifices." But, on the one hand, Keil's intro-

¹ E. Ruprecht, *Des Räthsels-Lösung*, II., i. (1896), p. 230.

² Dillmann, *Handbuch der Alttestamentlichen Theologie* (1895), p. 111.

ductory phrase, "concerning things or matters of burnt and slaughter-offering," gives no clear or natural sense; and, on the other hand, the fact that על-דברִי has passed over in linguistic usage to the function of a preposition has been set aside by Keil (and by Dillmann). And what would have been the object of denying that God had given detailed instructions concerning sacrifice? It was a question of whether God had given any instructions concerning sacrifice at all.

Now it may be asked, further, whether the denial in Jeremiah vii. 22 is *only a relative one*.

This question presses just now forcibly for consideration. For the putting of this question and the answer in the affirmative forms the climax of a whole series of investigations of this passage.¹ On this account the question must be investigated from all sides; and, in fact, it is not merely one of recent origin, but one possessing far-reaching significance.

In following to some extent the history of this question in its earlier stages, I have observed that in the course of time the *absolute* and the *relative* negation of sentences with a double reference have been mutually identified. And since this attempt to identify them is, in respect of both classes, of importance for the interpretation of Jeremiah vii. 22, both classes call for a short discussion here.

(i.) It was frequently supposed that the relative negation must be taken to be a substitute for the absolute. For in Nolde's *Concordantiae particularum ebraeo-chaldaearum* (ed. Tympe), we find as the 22nd section under the word כֵּן, "כֵּן = non" (p. 464); and the phrase צִדְקָה כִּמְנִי (Genesis xxxviii. 26) is given as the first illustration. The meaning

¹ Oehler, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, § 201; especially Karl Marti, *Jahrb. für prot. Theol.*, 1880, p. 321 f.; Köhler, *Lehrbuch der Bibl. Gesch.*, II. 2, p. 27; v. Orelli in Strack and Zöckler's *Kurzgefasster Commentar*, 2nd ed. *ad. loc.*; to some extent also Giesebrecht, *Handcommentar zu Jeremia*, 1894; Hommel, *Die Altisraelitische Ueberlieferung*, 1897. See below.

of that phrase, however, is "she has an overplus of moments of normality beyond me." Onkelos (אֲנִי), Peschitta (ܐܢܝ), LXX. (ἡ ἐγώ), Jerome (justior me est), and others have retained the comparative sense of the phrase. Böhmer translates very accurately, "she is more in the right than I."¹ Concerning the rendering "over against me," adopted by Dillmann and others, compare my *Syntax*, § 308b. The sense is not "ego non sum justus." This interpretation is *not* yielded by the context as is stated in Nolde-Tympe in Note 1546 (p. 911), "patet ex ratione quæ sequitur: quando quidem non dedi ei Schelah filium meum." No, the rightness or the wrongness is regarded as a quantity made up of several factors, and to Judah is ascribed the acknowledgment that he held more moments of wrongness than Tamar, for (this is added as the reason) he had not given her to Shela to wife. And thereby he had been indirectly the occasion of Tamar's subsequent conduct. Moreover, he had himself used her as a Kedescha. On the other hand, *she* had laid upon herself—in this matter—fewer moments of abnormality than he. It is true we cannot say on her behalf, as Leopold Schmidt does: "She fulfilled her duty, to raise up seed to her husband, better than I fulfilled mine, to do the same for him, my son" (sic!).² For the children born to Judah by Tamar would not be introduced into the genealogy of her husband Onan. But she, like Jacob in his dealings with Laban (Gen. xxx. 37 ff.), had tried by trickery to deprive Judah's mistake of its results. Compare also Luther's words, "Recte dixit Juda: justior est me, quamquam ingens flagitium est incestus [Thamaris]; sed is [Juda] plura et majora peccata commisit, pugnancia cum lege et jure divino, et posset accusari sacrilegii, homicidii, et omnis generis injuriarum."³

¹ Ed. Böhmer, *Das erste Buch der Thora* (1862), p. 58.

² Leopold Schmidt, *Erklärung der heiligen Schrift, Genesis* (1834), p. 737.

³ Luther, *Enarrationes in Genesin* (Opera exeg. lat.), ix. 212.

The case is precisely similar with the other passages in which, according to Nolde, Tympe, and others, כֹּן ought to stand in the index under "not." "Thou art more in the right than I" (1 Sam. xxiv. 18) is just the same. In Jonah iv. 3, מִיֹּב מִיֹּחֵי, which Dathe adduces as an illustration,¹ means that Jonah will continue to endure his life if God so wills it, but that of course he would prefer death. Neither can Psalm xxx. 4 (by which Nolde-Tympe probably mean verse 4b) by any possibility be taken thus. Compare my *Syntax*, § 406o. Nor yet in the phrase "Thou hast loved evil more than good" (Ps. lii. 5) was it intended to deny absolutely to the subject every good impulse. Again, in Psalm cxviii. 8f. we have "It is better to trust in Jahveh than in men" (v. 9, "princes"); cf. Buxtorf,² "Melius est confidere in deo quam, etc." This passage also was explained by Dathe, "in Jova sperare bonum est, non vero sperare in homine." But even the fact that in Jeremiah xvii. 5 that man is condemned who puts his trust in men; or, again, that in Psalm cxlvi. 3 we find "put not your trust in princes" cannot make an absolute negation of the relative one which is used in Psalm cxviii. 8f. For the degree of prohibition, the degree of abstention from human help need not be in all passages the same. That כֹּן stands for "instead of" or "not" in Habakkuk ii. 16; Psalm lii. 5; cxviii. 8f.; cxlvi. 3 (Hupfeld, Nowack, Delitzsch, Baethgen on Psalm lii. 5) cannot be asserted without doubt.

That כֹּן was felt in practice to be an equivalent of "not" cannot even be proved from Proverbs viii. 10 a, b. For "receive my instruction and not silver" (10a) may be related to "and knowledge rather (even) than fine gold" (Umbreit) as a climax. Further, it is only a relative negation which we find in Proverbs xxv. 7 (Nolde-Tympe

¹ Glass-Dathe, *Philologia sacra his temporibus accommodata*, i. 413 f. (1778).

² Buxtorf, *Thesaurus grammaticus* (ed. 1651), p. 568.

and Dathe) and Job xxxv. 11, for clearly Psalm civ. 21, cxlvii. 9; Job xii. 7 f. must weigh against "non bestias terræ" (Nolde-Tympe); and when they add "bestias dociles seu capaces eruditionis, saltem in minore gradu, ἀποπον" (p. 911), they are without good reason taking ἡλῆ, "accustom," "teach," to refer to actual instruction.

An attempt has also been made to establish the same habit of speech on the ground of a series of New Testament passages, in which some have sought to detect a "Hebraism." Nolde-Tympe, Dathe, and others, have adduced, in the first place, Luke xviii. 14, κατέβη οὗτος δειδικαιωμένος εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ ἢ (γὰρ) ἐκεῖνος. I believe, however, that even in this sentence it is not righteousness in the absolute sum of its moments which is ascribed to the publican in his relation to the Pharisee. For had this been the intention, another form of expression would have been available. The passage is parallel with the one just adduced above from the Old Testament (Gen. xxxviii. 26). There וַ=ה̄ (Peschitta, ܠܗ ܐܝܬܐ!). The reading given by the Sinaiticus (παρ' ἐκεῖνον, in relation to, in comparison with, him) is a result of the same feeling. The same holds good of the other passages, most of which are cited by Nolde-Tympe and Dathe. For, in the first place, ἡγάπησαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι μᾶλλον τὸ σκότος ἢ τὸ φῶς (John iii. 19) does not mean "eos plane non dilexisse sed odisse lucem" (Dathe, p. 415). This is not proved by verse 20. For πᾶς ὁ φαῦλα πράττων κ.τ.λ. (v. 20) has not necessarily the same contents as οἱ ἄνθρωποι (v. 19), and, in fact, the light that appeared in Christ has been received by a minority of mankind. Neither is there any absolute negation in John xii. 43, ἡγάπησαν τὴν δόξαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων μᾶλλον ἢ περ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ, in spite of v. 44. Nor yet is it the case in "we must obey God rather than man" (Acts iv. 19; v. 29). The sense there is rather, "the higher authority pertains to God." The conclusion follows that in cases where the

demands of God and of men conflict, the deciding power pertains to the will of God.

At the same time, we cannot overlook a further stage of progress in diction. For in 1 Timothy i. 4 the warning is given, *μηδὲ προσέχειν μύθοις κ.τ.λ.*, where the meaning can hardly be that even in the knowledge of heathen mythology there may be found in a negative way a means of promoting a just appreciation of the Christian religion. The word *μᾶλλον* might rather be turned through a kind of *meiosis* or irony into an instrument of simple negation. This linguistic usage is again open to doubt in *φιλήδονοι μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόθεοι* (2 Tim. iii. 4). But even in such cases in which a comparative expresses the common form of speech "to be preferable," or "to prefer," linguistic usage has finally advanced to the point of employing this form of expression in a kind of *meiosis*, in place of an expression of absolute rejection. For it is only in this way that *κρείττον ἀγαθοποιούντας, εἰ θέλει τὸ θέλημα θεοῦ, πάσχειν ἢ κακοποιούντας* (1 Pet. iii. 17) can be rendered. It is not satisfactory to interpret that a man can bear suffering more easily if he has a good conscience than if the sting of a bad conscience helps to inflame the wound. But the phrase in 1 Corinthians vii. 9 is particularly clear—*κρείττον ἔστιν γαμεῖν ἢ πυροῦσθαι*. Again, in *μᾶλλον ἐλόμενος κ.τ.λ.* (Heb. xi. 25) the idea is expressed that Moses in his later life *wholly* preferred belonging to the people of Jahveh to the favour of the Egyptians. Hebrews ii. 15 has been wrongly adduced by Dathe (p. 414). Compare, further, the discussion of the Arabic *min* on p. 023.

With this series of passages three phrases in the Old Testament have also been grouped. These bear on the question of the offering of sacrifice.

First, in *שָׁמַע מִצִּיבָן שׁוֹב וְיָ* (1 Sam. xv. 22), Nolde-Tympe (p. 464) find the sense "Auscultare, *non* sacrificium est bonum, etc." But not only does the Targum, the

Peschitta, Raschi, and Levi ben Gerson, rightly retain the מן, but also by the LXX. and by Jerome it is rendered by ὑπέρ and *quam*. The absolute sense of מן in this passage cannot be supported by the fact that the discussion here is not "de sacrificio in genere, sed de adipe et sacrificio ex anathemate" (Nolde-Tympe, p. 911). This is by way of taking account of the special context of 1 Samuel xv. 23. But, in the first place, it is very questionable whether it is the purpose of the text to employ the phrase in so limited a sense. For neither in 22*a* nor in 22*b* is there any suggestion that obedience was to be rendered only in conjunction with such sacrifices as might be taken from the "devoted" animals, while the contrary is indicated by the subsequent exceedingly strong emphasis on obedience in verse 22*a*. And, secondly, the comparative sense of מן in 1 Samuel xv. 22*b* is established beyond doubt by 22*a*. For there we find: "Has Jahveh pleasure in burnt offering and sacrifice as in hearkening to the voice of Jahveh?"¹ Precisely the same thought is expressed by וְתִשָּׁב לַיהוָה מִשׁוּר וְנִי (Ps. lxix. 32) where also מן should signify "*non*" according to Nolde-Tympe, p. 464.

ED. KÖNIG.

¹ "Jahveh's" represents the pronoun "his" according to my *Syntax*, § 5.

(To be continued.)

DR. HASTINGS' DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE.

It is a pleasure to add one voice more to the chorus of congratulation which greets Dr. Hastings on the successful conclusion of his anxious and arduous task. We say "conclusion," for, although a supplementary volume is promised, the Editor in chief has already performed all he undertook and has furnished the public with a Bible Dictionary which adequately discusses and explains all relevant topics, illuminating each with that wealth of exact information and keen insight which only the expert possesses. The editorial work has been done with extraordinary knowledge and efficiency. Dr. Hastings has shown something of the magical instinct of the water-finder and has tapped springs of information hitherto unknown and unsuspected, but which have responded to his appeal with streams that vivify and fertilize common knowledge. In such articles as Prof. Warfield's on "*Predestination*" the gusto of liberty to utter is manifest, and indeed there is little in the volume that can be called "hack-work." For even where experts are going over ground with which they are familiar, as in Kenyon's article on "*Writing*," there is communicated to the reader that interest in his subject which never forsakes the true scholar. The only improvement which might be suggested in the editorial management is the fuller treatment of certain subjects. For example, there is no question which at present requires fuller or more careful treatment than that of Revelation, but this subject which underlies the whole Dictionary is only incidentally and briefly treated in the article *Bible*. Neither is there any separate article on *Papyri*, an unaccountable omission, considering the abundance and significance of recent finds and decipherments and their bearing on New Testament study. Possibly it is such omissions which have made it seem advisable to produce a supplementary volume.

The Editor has, we think judiciously, relied chiefly upon English-speaking contributors, although some of the most important articles have been furnished by German scholars. Thus Graf von Baudissin has been allowed thirty pages in which to discuss "*Priests and Levites*," while Budde writes on "*Hebrew Poetry*" at considerable length. It was to be expected that Prof. Nestle would be a large contributor, and we find much

admirable work from his facile pen. The much-vexed question of the authenticity of the Cairene Hebrew text of the Book of Sirach is elaborately discussed by him, but remains unsettled. Prof. Nestle has also written on the Text of the New Testament, the Syriac Versions, and the Septuagint. The Vulgate has necessarily been allotted to Mr. H. J. White; and, as necessarily, the localities of Asia Minor to Prof. W. M. Ramsay. A rich vein of recondite information identifies several articles as the production of the many-sided, all-accomplished Prof. Alexander Macalister; while Dr. J. A. Selbie contributes a large amount of knowledge from his stores of well-digested learning. The Books of the New Testament are adequately treated, the Epistle to the Romans by Principal Robertson, those to the Thessalonians by Prof. Walter Lock. A remarkable article on the Book of Revelation is contributed by Prof. Porter of Yale, whose criticism throughout is candid and impartial. He concludes that the authorship remains problematic, although he counts it little less than a certainty that it did not proceed from the Author of the fourth gospel. The books of the Old Testament are handled by men who know, such as Dr. Selbie, Nowack, and Prof. W. T. Davison. To the last-named scholar the Book of Psalms has been assigned. Of the Davidic authorship he says: "It cannot certainly be proved that David wrote any psalms; the probability is that he wrote many; it is not likely that all these were lost; some of those extant which are ascribed to him are appropriate in his lips; external evidence ascribes the 18th Psalm to David; and if it be his, it is probable that others also should be attributed to him; and in determining the number of these, internal evidence drawn from contents, style, allusion, etc., is the sole criterion. The judgment of critics proceeding upon these lines naturally varies considerably. The arguments above adduced would lead to the conclusion that from ten to twenty psalms—including 3, 4, 7, 8, 15, 18, 23, 24, 32, and perhaps 101 and 110—*may* have come down to us from David's pen, but that the number can hardly be greater and may be still less."

Some of the most instructive articles are on theological subjects. Conspicuous among these are Prof. Sanday's on "Son of God," in which, however, there is some debatable matter, and Prof. Driver's on "Son of Man." In the latter article the difficulties recently raised from a consideration of Aramaic linguistic

usage are lucidly stated and discussed. Jesus, as a rule, if not always, spoke Aramaic, but "son of man" in Aramaic is a common expression in which the force of "son" "has been so weakened by time as virtually to have disappeared, so that it practically means nothing more nor less than *man*." Was it possible then for Jesus speaking in Aramaic to call Himself "the Son of Man"? Prof. Driver gives reasons for believing that notwithstanding all that has been alleged by Wellhausen, Lietzmann and others, it was not impossible that Jesus may have spoken of Himself in Aramaic (or even occasionally in Greek) as "the Son of Man." The further question, What did He mean by the designation? receives the answer which may be said to be that which commends itself to the majority of modern critics: that He used it to veil rather than to reveal His Messiahship. "Christ's use of the term was *paedagogic*. It veiled his Messiahship during the earlier part of His ministry, till the time was ripe for Him to avow it openly." This article, if it cannot be called final, since no position is nowadays allowed to be undisturbed and uncontested, may yet be said to supersede the numberless brochures which this subject has recently evoked.

Other articles of interest are those by Canon E. R. Bernard. In his treatment of the Resurrection he seems indeed to minimize the inconsistency of St. Paul's later view with his earlier, and thereby to induce some misunderstanding, but his account of the same Apostle's doctrine of Sin is bolder and more Pauline than appears in any of the New Testament theologies. Of these theological contributions, however, it will probably be admitted by most readers that Prof. W. P. Paterson's on Sacrifice contains the greatest wealth of thinking which is at once original and solid. Very deserving of attention is his discussion of the theory which lies at the basis of Old Testament sacrifice, and his exposition of the probability that the idea of penal substitution underlay the ritual of the sin-offering. "That the idea of substitution was already familiar appears from Gen. 22. 13 (offering of a ram in place of Isaac) and at a late stage the vicarious idea is used to explain the sufferings of the righteous servant of Jehovah (Is. 53.). And given the doctrine that sin entailed death, and that one being might suffer in room of another, it was a highly natural if not an inevitable step, to go on to suppose that the rite of sacrifice combined the two ideas, and that the slain victim

bore the penalty due to the sinner." Of course this idea is not novel. Outram long ago demonstrated from Jewish sources that the Hebrews themselves consciously held this view; and Robertson Smith traces its development. But Prof. Paterson gives it the most lucid and convincing statement. Passing to the New Testament he brings out the significance of Christ's death as a sacrifice, examining first our Lord's own statements and then those of the Apostles. He finds that St. Paul makes a large contribution to a theory of the Atonement. "It is vain to deny that St. Paul freely employs the category of substitution, involving the conception of the imputation or transference of moral qualities. . . From his reference to Christ as a means of propitiation (Rom. 3. 25), it is probable that the Apostle conceived of Christ as expiating guilt through the vicarious endurance of its characteristic penalty." The writer to the Hebrews, according to Prof. Paterson, finds the atoning virtue of Christ's death rather in its being the offering to God of a perfected obedience than in its being the penalty of sin. The Epistle, it is true, knows nothing of a sacrifice which does not involve suffering and death as an essential element of it, but it lays greater stress on the spirit of self-sacrificing obedience in which Christ offered Himself. The satisfaction rendered by Christ was not so much the death to which He voluntarily submitted as the life-long obedience which found in the death its highest expression. There is much in this article which will materially aid all who are in search of clear views of the significance of Christ's death.

Many other articles in this rich volume deserve careful consideration, and the illustrations and maps are worthy of the letter-press, although those who have mentally erected a tabernacle will receive a shock when they see it represented here as flat-roofed.

MARCUS DODS.

BROTHER ANTHONY.

SCENE: *A Monastery Garden, May 1632.*

How fair a dawn, all things so sweet and calm ;
 The gentle dews refresh the flowering earth ;
 Each glistening leaf as if with diamonds hung,
 And pearls bedeck the grass. From out the elm
 The blackbird bravely sings—S. Chrysostom,
 As Brother Simon calls the golden-bill ;
 The rapturous lark soars high to greet the sun.
 But on my fevered heart there falls no balm ;
 The garden of my soul, where happy birds
 Sang in the fulness of their joy, and bloomed
 The flowers bright, finds only winter now ;
 And bleak winds moan about the leafless trees,
 And chill rains beat to earth the rotting stalks.
 Hope, Faith, and God, alike are gone, all gone—
 If it be so, as this Galileo saith.

*"The earth is round and moves about the sun ;
 The sun,"* he saith, *"is still, the axle fixed
 Of nature's wheel, centre of all the worlds ?"*

Galileo is an honest soul, God knows—
 No end has he to serve but only truth,
 By that which he declares, daring to risk
 Position, liberty, and even life itself. He knows.
 And yet the ages have believed it not.
 Have they not meditated, watched and prayed—
 Great souls with vision purged and purified ?
 Had God no messenger until arose
 Galileo ! Long years the Church has prayed,
 Seeking His grace who guideth into truth,
 And weary eyes have watched the sun and stars,
 And heard the many voices that proclaim
 God's hidden ways,—did they believe a lie ?

The Church's Holy Fathers, were they wrong?
Yet speaks Galileo as one who knows.

Shrinks all my soul from breathing any word
That dares to question God's most holy Book,
As men beneath an avalanche pass dumb
For fear a sound should bring destruction down.
If but a jot or tittle of the Word

Do pass away then is all lost. And yet
If what Galileo maintains be true!—

"The sun itself moves not." The Scripture tells
At Joshua's command the sun stood still.

Doth scripture lie? The blessed Lord Himself,
Spake He not of the sun that rose and set!
So cracks and cleaves the ground beneath my feet.
The sun that fills and floods the world with light
My darkness and confusion hath become!

Oh God, as here about the old grey walls
The ivy clings and twines its arms, and finds
A strength by which it rises from the earth
And mounts toward heaven, then gladly flings
Its grateful crown of greenery round the height,
So by Thy word my all uncertain soul
Hath mounted toward Thy heaven, and brought
Its love, its all, wherewith to crown my Lord.
Alas, the wall is fallen. Beneath it crushed
The clinging ivy lies; its stronghold once
Is now the prison house, the cruel grave.

* * * * *

There sounds the bell that summons me to prayer.

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THE GOVERNING IDEA OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

(JOHN I. 18; XIV. 8-9.)

OF these texts, the one sums up the meaning of the prologue, while the other expresses the moral of the history. The first states in warm and concrete terms ideas so majestic and impressive that thought has, in order that it may sanely reason concerning things so sublime, to disguise them in cold and abstract language; the second shows, by means of breathing and articulate men, how these ideas can, when suitably impersonated, satisfy the heart and solve its most obstinate questionings. The prologue, which the one text summarizes, may be described as a thesis; the history, which the other text condenses, may be termed its explication. Without the history the prologue would be but a speculative dream, singular neither in its metaphysics nor in its terminology; without the prologue the history would be but a fragment of biography with a beautiful personality for its centre, but incredible incidents for its circumference. The two points of view need to be combined before the Gospel will discourse to the soul a music it cannot choose but hear.

Yet to bring the two together is but a method of exegesis, which uses the prologue to construe the history, the history to illustrate the prologue. What is needed to complete the exposition is to test the joint result by an appeal to the soul it is intended to satisfy. We shall first, then, try to interpret the texts each through the other; and, secondly, we shall attempt to see what the heart and reason of man has to say to this interpretation.

I.

1. The prologue is the most distinctive thing in John, which means that it has no parallel in the Synoptical Gospels. Mark, with what seems equal simplicity and courage, begins his history with the baptism of Jesus, saying nothing as to His birth and leaving His words and actions to tell their own tale. Matthew and Luke, writing for readers more curious and critical, seek to give coherence and credibility to their narratives by prefacing them with genealogies which describe His descent according to the flesh, and stories of His miraculous conception which describe His filiation according to the Spirit. The genealogy of Matthew begins with Abraham, that of Luke ends with Adam; the aim of the one Evangelist is to prove Jesus a Jew, sprung from the chosen people, the Child of the promise, born to fulfil the law and the prophets; the aim of the other Evangelist is to prove Him a man, the Child of humanity, able to speak to all because akin to all. The two aims are rather complementary than incompatible. Matthew's affirms that within our common manhood there is a special clanship; Luke's, that our nature comes from the race, though our peculiar character and customs are from the family and the tribe. The genealogies agree that the same law of descent requires, in the case of Jesus as in our own, that His ancestors, like ours, were not immaculate; and if sinful forefathers meant a guilty descendant, He could not have been innocent. They claimed for Him, whether as Son of Abraham or of Adam, no immunity from the common inheritance of feebleness and shame. As are the genealogies, such also are the birth-stories. Matthew's is, in all its accidents, incidents, local colouring and temporal conditions, Jewish, and prophecy is fulfilled in the very name He bears. He is called Jesus, "for He shall save His people from their sins." Luke's is ethnic, de-

scribes how Mary became "the handmaid of the Lord," and conceived "the Son of God," who came to establish an everlasting kingdom, to give glory to the highest God and create peace on earth. What is common to the two is the feeling that they are about to describe a person so compacted of Deity and humanity as to be inconceivable without their manifest concurrence as joint factors of His being. The genealogy shows His dependence upon man ; His birth proves how He transcends him.

But John, though of all the Evangelists the man of the boldest and most speculative, if also the most tender and trustful, mind, feels as if he could not follow any of the synoptic methods. He could not, like Mark, write simply as a witness of events conceived to be supernatural, for was he not a disciple and a thinker as well as a witness? and how could he show us what he had seen or tell us what he had heard without giving us his own eyes to see with or his own mind to understand with? He could not, like Matthew and Luke, invoke the aid of a genealogy to authenticate the humanity of Jesus, for to him that humanity was too separate and singular to be explained through His ancestry ; nor could he, like them, use a miraculous birth-story to define Christ's Deity and distinguish Him from man, for he conceived His transcendence as of a kind no sensuous process could symbolize or prove. The empirical questions as to the links and stages of His descent, or as to the mode of His conception and manner of His birth, which seemed so vital to the older Evangelists, had thus no interest and possibly no significance for John ; but what was material to him was the person of the Redeemer, His essential nature as implying His essential relations, the ultimate cause of His appearance as defining the character and end of His work. "Find and determine these things," he seems to say, "and the whole truth as to God, nature, man and

history is found and determined." The cause is a sufficient reason for all the effects that follow from it. God as the sovereign source of all things is a transcendental but not a miraculous Being. If we conceive Him aright, we shall also conceive the Christ who is His Word; for to conceive either as an isolated or unordered miracle is to dwell in a universe that knows no God and to possess a nature that knows nothing of mind and spirit.

2. The purpose then of the prologue, looked at from below, is to bind man and nature to Christ and Christ to God; or, looked at from above, it is so to conceive God as to make creation and providence, the incarnation and redemption, spring from the spontaneous evolution of the God-head. In other words, John would not disconnect time from eternity, but would make time eternal; he would not isolate man from God, but would so interpret Christ through God as to make Him the symbol and means of God's constant and essential indwelling in man. The history he is about to write is brief, a mere fraction cut out of a fleeting moment, but he seeks to bind this fugitive fraction of an instant man can neither seize nor detain to the eternity man can neither measure nor occupy. Infinity at once magnifies and transfigures the history it thus holds and sustains. Once in the margin of the Bible, opposite its opening verse, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth," stood the date "4004 B.C." The short life thus assigned to the earth was reflected in the idea of its insignificance; it was but a single continent whose mountains were like huge links in the chain that held its scattered parts together, whose valleys were the deep furrows on its ancient face, wetted and washed by rains, fretted and worn by tempests, seared by fires within, scorched by the sun without, floating upon the mysterious and pathless seas which did not rise and drown the world though the rivers poured without ceasing floods of water into their bosom.

In the heavens which formed its roof, the radiant sun rose daily, issued from the east like a bridegroom from his chamber, strode towards the west with the majesty of a god, and died amid incomparable glories of coloured and pillared clouds ; while the pale-faced moon shed madness from her beams as she slowly climbed the sky, and in the darkness the stars came out like lamps to light men to bed. But when geology had deciphered the hieroglyphs which the hand of man had not graven on the rocks, and read of a creation which ran through periods of time too illimitable for thought to define ; when astronomy had explored the azure roof above us, and found it to be space without bounds within which circled and shone systems and suns innumerable, then man, studying the little point he knew as the mirror and the epitome of the infinite whole he did not know, awoke to the mystery of being, and looked at it with other and clearer eyes. He did not feel as if the immensity and the eternity which he had just discovered had dwarfed into insignificance the minute house he inhabited ; on the contrary, his home grew but the richer and the more significant, for was it not an epitome of the whole, and did it not hold within it secrets the imagination might represent but the eye could not discern ? And this vision of a creation without beginning did not come alone to enhance the glory of the Creator, for the discoveries that revealed the majestic magnitude of the universe disclosed also the complexity yet simple perfection of all its parts. As the creative process lengthened behind us till time was lost in eternity, and as the sphere of the created widened around us till place expanded into immensity, so below us, in the leaf or the insect, the creative achievement was seen to be as careful and as perfect as in the man. Without the fixed point of earth the immensity of the universe and the perfection of its minutest parts could not have been known ; without the ideas of the infinite and the everlasting the meaning of earth could

never have been interpreted or its mystery revealed. In like manner, John in his prologue interprets all thing through God, and sees all in Him; he finds, in the terms Logos and Son, the ideas which turn Him from mere abstract existence into a Being concrete and living. He discovers in these the truths that breathe grandeur into his conception of Christ, and that through Him confer dignity on nature and man, as well as reality on redemption. And therefore we can say: the history of Jesus, read through this prologue, transfigures man and fills his actual history and possible destiny with the mind and life and majesty of God.

3. But besides the general ideas of the prologue, the first text emphasizes certain special ideas (i.) as to God, (ii.) as to the Son of God, and (iii.) as to His function in the scheme of things.

(i.) "No man hath seen God at any time." The inability to see God is absolute; the finite can perceive only the finite; the perfect vision of the Infinite is what man, whether embodied or disembodied, can never attain. What is seen occurs at a given moment, occupies a given space, stands before the eye defined, outlined, shaped, beset by all the conditions of finitude. The Infinite can alone behold the Infinite, the mind that does not fill immensity and has not lived from eternity is without the eye that can see the Unbounded, the thought that can perceive the Eternal. But not to see and not to know are things not simply distinct, but dissimilar. We may know all the better that we do not see. John, for example, repeats this aphorism in his first Epistle,¹ yet with a most significant difference. It occurs in the midst of a most rapturous discussion on love: love is absolute, for it constitutes the essence of God;² love is sovereign, for it determined His greatest and most characteristic act, the mission of His Son;³ love is creative, for God's love is the cause of all the love in us;⁴ love is

¹ iv. 12.² 8.³ 9-10⁴ 16

universal, for, since God loved us, "we ought to love one another";¹ love is reciprocal, for "we love Him because He first loved us";² love is the evidence of His presence and the energy of His Spirit, for "if we love one another, God abideth in us and His love is perfected in us."³ The argument at every point is but an expansion of the principle from which it started: "every one that loveth is begotten of God, and knoweth God";⁴ and the clause, "No man hath seen God at any time," is introduced to contrast outward vision, which is not knowledge, with the inner experience or affection, which is. The vision may deceive in a thousand ways, but love is truth, and cannot bear to deceive or be deceived. We may for years pass a man on the street, know his gait, his figure, his stature, his complexion, his voice, all that constitutes his outer form and being, and yet not know the man. We may be able to describe or caricature him to an acquaintance without revealing his identity to a friend. To know him we must find the way into the house where lives the woman he loves, who loves him, and the children he and she love together. We must watch him there, not as he is made up to meet the eyes of men in the street, at business, or on the exchange, but as he is, where the nature that is stronger than will can have its way, in his moods of exultation or in his hours of shame, when he rejoices in his strength or moans in his weakness, laughs in his joy or cries in his sorrow, speaks in his meanness or boasts in his pride. Sense may play upon us many a fantastic trick, but experience has the awful power of forcing us to face reality, and in the very process of getting to know to make ourselves known. So we are grateful that "no man hath seen God at any time," for a visible were no God but a spectre of man's own making; but where sight is impossible knowledge may be real, for he who loveth knoweth the God who is love.

¹ 11.² 19.³ 12.⁴ 7.

(ii.) "The only begotten Son who is in the bosom of the Father." Now there are in this clause one or two notable things. There is a strict correlation between the terms "Son" and "Father." Where the one is the other must be; where either is not neither can be. If the Sonship is not essential to Deity, there can be no essential Fatherhood. The terms then signify that God is, if we may so speak, not an abstract Simplicity, but a concrete Society; His eternal perfection is not an inaccessible solitude, but a beatitude which must be social in order to be. But besides their correlative necessity, the terms bring out the meaning of the phrase "God is love"; without them there could be no argument, but with this phrase as its premiss the conclusion inevitably follows. For if God were an eternal Solitary He could not be essential love. An object is as necessary to love as a subject; a person to be loved as a person to love. To say, then, "God is love," is to say He is social; for without personal distinctions in the Godhead, how could love have a realm for its being, and a field for its exercise? And this truth receives in the prologue characteristic, if unconscious, expression. The Johannean ideas associated with the Logos are two, "Life" and "Light": "in Him was life," and therefore He created; and, once the creation had happened, the "Life" became "the Light of men." But the moment the terms "only Begotten" appear, two other Johannean ideas, which in importance far transcend the two former, at once emerge, "Grace and Truth." For these the concrete and personal name is "Son": "Grace and Truth came by Jesus Christ."¹ What this means is obvious: if we think of God as Father we think of Him through the Son, and these terms in correlation signify communicated and reciprocated love. The phrases therefore are interchangeable, and express the same fundamental ideas. When in the Gospel John says "the

¹ i. 17.

only begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father," and in his first Epistle, "God is love," he simply says the same thing.

(iii.) "He hath declared *Him*." This clause, which brings the other two together, follows from both and completes both. "No man hath seen God at any time," but where sight has failed love has succeeded. "The only begotten Son who is in the bosom of the Father," who therefore knew God as God, from within and by experience, and not merely from without and by vision—"He hath declared *Him*." And this assumes, and indeed affirms, a philosophical principle of primary importance. Men argue as if our ignorance of God was solely a matter of our own incompetence, the insufficiency of human faculty, or of man's inability to reach and to know God. But the argument to be valid must mean much more than this, viz., that God suffers from a deeper incapability than man, for if man cannot know Him it must be because He is unable to make Himself known. Human impotence is here, but the negative pole of a current whose positive is the want of power or of will in Deity. If men cannot know Him, it follows that He cannot speak or show Himself to man. Now, John's argument inverts this principle. Men cannot see God, therefore God must declare Himself; whatever happens He will not leave us in ignorance, with eyes searching for a light they cannot find. He who made the light shine in the darkness will cause a higher and purer light to shine in our hearts. And the function of the Son is to be the symbol of the love which cannot be spoken, yet which will not be silent. Nature may be the visible garment of Deity, yet we may see and touch the robe He wears without seeing and touching Himself. But what Nature could not perform the Son has accomplished; He has spoken of the Father as one who has lived in His bosom, who knows God as God knows Himself, and who can therefore enable man to look at his Maker and His

ways with the eye and experience of Deity. To do this the Son came, the only-Begotten who is in the bosom of the Father. He hath made visible and vocal the God no man can see.

II.

But now let us pass to the second text, which, by a series of distinct and personified incidents, brings out the meaning of the first. A person is to John no mere moving figure, but an embodied idea. The biography he writes is the history of the universe in miniature. In it light struggles with darkness, and now the darkness is hostile to the light, and now men who love the light walk in darkness and struggle to escape out of its hands. The incident we are about to study is all the more real that it is a parable of the soul perplexed by the half-withdrawn darkness and groping towards the true light.

1. A calm and comforting hour has come to Jesus and His disciples. It stands just after the storms of the later ministry and just before the agony and the horror of Gethsemane; its beneficent sunshine bathes His soul, and its gracious calm breathes serenity into their spirit. He and they are like travellers who have climbed a lofty mountain with the dense mist so clinging to its steep sides as to impede their progress, hide their path, and create the appalling fear of being lost, or the horror lest a step onward should be an irrevocable step to destruction. But at last and suddenly they have struggled on to the summit and into the sunshine, whence they could watch the lean and ragged fingers of the mist begin to relax their hold on shoulder and peak, making the dark gorges visible; and as the cloud draws out of the valleys and lifts from the plains they could see the vine-clad slopes, the white homesteads, the distant villages and towns lying fair and beautiful in the sunlight. Nor did the scene below alone appeal to the eye; above

the great mountains raised into the silent but glorious heaven their uncapped heads crowned with perennial snow, made all the more radiant by the eternal azure which seemed to embosom them, and the purple hues which played upon their brows. But as the Master and the disciples stood there, wearied by their toil, yet exhilarated by the scene and the sunshine, new clouds began to gather, thunders to mutter, the sound of a coming tempest filled the air, and a darkness blacker than night descended to blot out the radiant day. Yet between the natural scene and the spiritual experience there is this difference: here the Master alone feels the shadow of the approaching passion, and the one thing the disciples know is the joy of the rest and the sunlight.

2. At this hour and in these men, then, humanity surrounds Jesus; the twelve are an epitome of man, yet of man with eyes the Lord has opened. Their eyes are so unaccustomed to the light, that distance they cannot measure or proportion judge, and they see men as trees walking. New instincts and hopes mingle in their imaginations with ancient faiths and facts, and they feel themselves to be men of bewildered and troubled minds. He, on the other hand, has the lucid soul from which nothing is hid. He knows their perplexity and He foresees His own passion; yet though, to foresee is to forefeel, He forgets His own sorrow in the desire to strengthen them against theirs. And this He does by interpreting and so resolving the perplexities they feel but cannot explain. "Let not your heart be troubled," He begins. There is, indeed, trouble enough in life; some real, more made, a creation of art rather than of Nature and Providence; but, more curious than the making of trouble, is the comfort many find in foretelling it. There are people who cannot see a child at play, or a youth strenuous in the pursuit of some high ideal, or a bride standing in winsome grace beside her bridegroom, or a man struggling

under some great enterprise which promises to increase human happiness, without saying, "Ah, wait awhile; this fair hour of promise and of hope will soon pass, and disillusion, disappointment, sorrow, will inevitably come. In the very moment of joy it is well to have the heart troubled with the anticipation of evil." But that is only the language of embittered impotence, of a spirit that cannot bear another's happiness because it has never deserved or earned its own. The true note of magnanimity is not to pour hopeless and imbecile melancholy upon a glad heart, but to shed sunshine and hope upon the hearts that sit fearful in the darkness. Here is Jesus, feeling, all unknown to His disciples, the shadow of the Cross and the burden of the world's sin; and He does not seek to sadden them by the foreknowledge of His passion, but rather to increase their joy that they may be the better able to bear the coming loneliness and desolation: "Let not your heart be troubled; ye believe in God." The man who believes in God believes in a universe the devil has not made and does not rule. If beneficent goodness governs, what permanent harm can come to the good? If man looks to his soul's state God will look to its happiness. "Believe also in Me." That was to be a harder task and a higher duty. Belief was easy while He still lived, but would be difficult when they saw Him die upon the Cross, forsaken of God, abhorred of man. Yet how, apart from their belief, could faith in Him continue? And so He binds together faith in the God who could not be seen and faith in Himself who, though still visible, was so soon to be visible no more. The union was too natural to be dissoluble. If God alone is holy, could the holy Jesus owe His existence to any other Being? If God be absolutely just, could He forsake the righteous and perfect man simply because evil men had hated Him and had by craft compassed His death? If He had been so forsaken faith in God would have perished of the act. "In My Father's

house are many mansions." Where God is heaven is, and His home is the universe. But heaven is a place of "many mansions," where every soul will find a house suitable to its capacity, its stage of culture, or whatever we may term the nature or quality which demands a special and adapted environment. "I go to prepare a place for you." He has a function in eternity as well as in time; there as here He knows every man, and for each He makes ready a place that shall be a home indeed.

3. "And whither I go, ye know the way." Here the significant dialogue begins; man is by John so impersonated in the disciples that each person is a type, represents a distinct species of the genus man. Thomas is man prosaic, sensuous, positive as to the reality of things seen, very doubtful as to the existence or truth of the unseen. He is often described as the "unbelieving Thomas," but he would be better named the "misbelieving." Sceptics are of two classes, those who so believe their reason that they will not trust their senses, and those who so trust their senses that they will not believe their reason. The former are intellectually subtle, and argue themselves into disbelief not only of the senses, but of the processes and products of the very reason which they must trust to be rational; the latter are intellectually simple, and argue themselves into disbelief of the reason because its judgments and inferences contradict the testimony of the senses or impugn their veracity. To the one class the philosophical sceptics belong, the men who doubt because they think and whose doubt, as it is the product of reason, only reason can overcome; the other class comprehends the slaves of habit, the children of custom and convention, who walk by sight, speak of seeing as believing, and who are so credulous as to trust only what the hands have handled and the fingers have touched. Now it is to this class that Thomas belongs, an honest man, strong and courageous where he can see

and feel, resolved not to go one step farther than his senses show him to be safe, yet ready to trust them whatever they may say or wherever they may lead. So when Jesus proposes to go to the dead Lazarus, "to the intent ye may believe," Thomas, with the courage of a man who could follow and the obstinacy of a man who could not believe what his senses did not certify, said, "Let us also go that we may die with Him."¹ And so, too, when he heard the other disciples discoursing with ecstasy on the appearances of the risen Lord he dourly said, "Except I shall see in His hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and put my hand into His side, I will not believe."² The man wanted to believe, but he could not, his conscience would not allow him till his senses were satisfied. So with characteristic bluntness and no less characteristic blindness where things of the Spirit were at issue, he said, "Lord, we know not whither Thou goest; how know we the way?" Jesus answers in a fashion that must have bewildered Thomas still more: "I am the way, the truth, and the life," i.e. the path that conducts to the goal, the light that illumines the path, and the goal to which it conducts. In other words, He is all in all, everywhere and for every one sufficient, as solitary and pre-eminent in His person and functions as is the Deity. And then, in the familiar Johannean method translating the abstract into the concrete, He adds: "No one cometh unto the Father but by Me: he who has known Me has known Him; in Me He has become visible."

4. And now while Thomas is silently pondering the mysterious answer he has received, the change in the mode of speech calls up another interlocutor. Philip is a man little known, but the little we do know is suggestive. He is neither sent by the Baptist nor brought by another, but "found" by Jesus Himself.³ They were attracted to each

¹ John xi. 16.

² John xx. 25.

³ John i. 43.

other by affinities of spirit. And two things indicate the kind of man he was: (a) his special friend, the man he could claim as convert and companion, was Nathanael, the guileless Israelite,¹ and (β) the Greeks who wanted to see Jesus come first to Philip, and were brought to the Master by him.² He was evidently a meditative man, drawn by the gentleness of God giving light by seeking it, touched by the quest of men for the humanities of Deity. So the reference to the Father appealed to his deepest need and woke the desire that most consumed him. "Lord! shew us the Father, and it sufficeth us." Jesus starts like one smitten with sudden pain, though it is pain that has a heart of pleasure, and asks: "Have I been so long time with you, and dost thou not know Me, Philip?" Did you ever try to teach men, and had you ever a loved pupil of high promise over whom you have spent brooding nights and toilsome days in the hope that all his promise might yet be realized? And have you never found in some ecstatic moment of thought and discussion this same pupil put a question which showed that he had never seen into the heart of your teaching, or even so much as guessed that it had a heart? You may then be inclined to blame your own blundering or your fatal inability to be articulate where the deepest beliefs are concerned, and to forget that what you have won by agony of thought and experience cannot be understood by those who have never been cradled by suffering into thought. If that has been your experience, then you will be able to understand the mood and mind of Jesus, His pain at having a disciple who had not learned, His joy at discovering the disciple to be still a learner whose ignorance was richer than any knowledge. For in Philip Jesus heard the voice of collective man confess his deepest need, "Shew us the Father"; heard, too, men speak that word of infinite promise, "and it sufficeth us." The fact that "no man

¹ John i. 45-47.² xii. 20-22.

hath seen God at any time," and that he must yet see Him or die, begets the prayer, "Lord, shew us the Father"; and the answer, which assures peace, is, "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father." "The only begotten, who is in the bosom of the Father, He hath interpreted the invisible God." Jesus as the revelation of the God who cannot be seen, is the governing idea of John's Gospel; and the man who sees Him is satisfied. He loves, and therefore he knows the God who is love.

A. M. FAIRBAIRN.

SHALL WE HEAR EVIDENCE OR NOT?

THE work and personality of one who has influenced human history so profoundly as St. Paul must be studied afresh by every age. The character which revolutionizes one age is not fully comprehended by that age, for it is too immense in its sweep. It transcends the limits of time and speaks to all ages. The words of Paul will be differently understood in different ages, for every age finds that they respond to its peculiar questions. Hence every age must write afresh for itself—one might almost say, every man must write for himself—the life of St. Paul; and the words in which he strove to make his thoughts comprehensible to the raw converts, who needed to be trained in power of thinking as well as in the elementary principles of morality and conduct, must be rendered into the form which will be more easily understood in present circumstances. The attempts to do this must always be imperfect and inadequate, and yet they may make it easier to penetrate to the heart which beats in all his writings. But the aim of the historian should always be to induce the reader to study for himself the writings and work of St. Paul.

In venturing to lay before the readers a study of that

character, it is not necessary to claim, in justification of the attempt, peculiar qualifications or insight: it is sufficient for that if one can claim to be putting the same questions that others are putting, and to be one among many students animated by a similar spirit and the same needs.

In studying the life of St. Paul everything depends on the point of view from which one contemplates it, and the prepossessions with which one approaches the subject. There are some preliminaries on which it is absolutely necessary to make one's mind clear beforehand, and one of these is the answer which we should make to the question prefixed to this paper: are we to hear evidence or are we to rule it out beforehand?

The religion of the Jews from its first beginning to its fullest development in Christianity was founded on the belief that human nature can, in certain cases, at certain moments in the life of certain individuals, come into direct communion with the Divine Being, and can thus learn the purpose and will of God. In other words, God occasionally reveals Himself to man.

St. Paul himself believed unhesitatingly in the frequent occurrence of such revelations. It cannot be doubted that he entertained this belief from childhood, and that it was a force acting on him through his whole life. Hence it demands the attention of every one who studies his life. In St. Paul's view all true religion was the direct utterance of the voice and will of God, and all human history was impelled in its course by such utterance. He had been trained from infancy in the Hebrew view, which attributed the whole course of the national religion and fortunes—the latter being simply the measure of national adherence to the religion—to a series of such revelations made by God on various occasions to certain favoured individuals.

In his later years St. Paul did not consider that such

revelation had been denied to other nations and confined absolutely to the Jews. On the contrary, it lies at the foundation of his later ideas of history and of life that all nations have some share in the revelation of God, and some capacity for understanding it, that *what can be known of Him is manifest in them, for He manifested it unto them; for His invisible nature, viz. His eternal power and Godhead, is clearly seen since the creation of the world, being perceived through the works of creation; that He has never left Himself without witness, in that He did good and gave from heaven rains and fruitful seasons, filling men's hearts with food and gladness; and that, through this revelation, all men show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience bearing witness therewith.*

This revelation, which is granted to all nations, has sometimes been distinguished as "natural" revelation from that which was imparted to the Hebrews, the inference being that the latter was "supernatural." This seems to be an unsatisfactory way of expressing the nature of that undeniable distinction. It is misleading, and even inaccurate, to use the term "supernatural." We hold that revelation of the Divine to the human is a necessary part of the order of nature, and therefore is in the strictest sense "natural"; and also that all revelation of the Divine to the human nature must necessarily be "superhuman," being a step in the gradual elevation of the human nature towards the Divine.

The nations had one by one rejected that revelation, or, as we might say in more modern phraseology, their history had become a process of degeneration. After a beginning of learning, of comprehension, and of improvement, their will and desire soon became degraded. In St. Paul's own words, *after knowing God, they ceased to glorify Him as God, and to be thankful, but turned to futile philosophic speculations, and their faculties lost the power of compre-*

hending and became obscured. The result was a steady process of degradation, folly, vice, crime, which St. Paul paints in terrible colours (*Rom. i.*).

History undoubtedly justifies this picture of the nations over which St. Paul's view extended. Where we can trace the outlines of their history over a sufficient time, we find that in an earlier stage, and up to a certain point, their religious ideas and rites were simpler, higher, purer. Sometimes we can trace a considerable period of development and advance. But in every case the development turns to degeneration, and throughout the Graeco-Roman world the belief was general, and thoroughly justified, that the state of morality in the first century was much more degraded than it had been several centuries earlier. Society had become more complex and more vicious. In religion the number of gods had been multiplied, but its hold on the belief of men had been weakened and its worst characteristics had been strengthened, while any good features in it had almost wholly disappeared.

It is doubtful how far that principle should be extended in human history, but there are certainly many examples of a similar kind beyond the range of St. Paul's knowledge. The history of Brahminism, of Buddhism, of Islam, of Zoroastrianism, all exemplify the same turn towards degradation and decay, after the power of growth is exhausted. And, in the light of recent investigations, it must be considered as probable, perhaps almost certain, that many barbarous superstitions which by some modern scientific inquirers in the subject of folklore and primitive custom have been regarded as indications of the character of primitive man, are not really primitive, but merely examples of degeneration.

Some races have degenerated through the influence of war, because they lay too much on the track of armies and armed migration; others deteriorated through un-

favourable climatic conditions, either because they were crushed into remote corners among untraversable mountains, or into regions unfit to support life on proper conditions, or because a too enervating and luxurious climate sapped the stamina and energy of the people in the course of generations. Massacre, or the dread of massacre, has been a frequent cause of degeneration. The victors are brutalized. The survivors of the victims deteriorate because the higher qualities of human nature are denied exercise, as entailing the death of those who display them.

Among the Jews alone there was found a long succession of great men who heard and obeyed the Divine voice. Each was, in a sense, the disciple of his predecessor, learning from the past and acquiring fuller comprehension of and susceptibility to the Divine nature and revelation. In the process of revelation the religious ideas which they expressed to the people developed and became purer and more elevated. In each new revelation the whole past experience of the race was focussed and the spark of progress kindled therefrom.

They thus raised the national ideas and the national life, for though the nation always seemed to them to be slipping back into idolatry and the immorality which is its inevitable associate, yet in reality the people were being raised, though only very slowly, above the low level of their ancestors. What seemed to the Hebrew prophets to be retrogression was strictly only persistence of old habits.

Yet that apparently favoured nation was not in the long run more responsive than the others had been to the Divine message. It was for a time drawn onwards by the prophets whom it produced. Almost reluctantly, with many slips and many falls, it was raised to a far higher moral level than any of the nations around. The captivity in Babylonia purified it, for it was chiefly the most patriotic and religious who came back, while the more

weak-minded and sluggish would not face the difficulties of returning. The Zealots were in the majority, and they held the nation together, resisted the insidious advance of Greek civilization and education, defeated at last the Syrian armies, and won freedom for their nationality and their religion.

But the hard-won triumph resulted only in unfertile exclusiveness and self-complacency. The people ceased to feel any need and any desire for the Divine guidance, and lost all power of development. The race of the prophets seemed to have come to an end, when John the Baptist appeared with the brief simple message that the Messiah was at hand.

To St. Paul the failure of the Jews to recognize and receive the Christ was the result and the proof of their having ceased to be the favoured nation. They had refused to listen to the Divine voice, and the Divine favour was turned away from them. It had never been part of the Divine purpose to reject the nations. The nations had turned away from God, but they had learned in their consequent degradation and darkness their need of Divine illumination, which the Jews in their self-satisfied exclusiveness had begun to despise.

How far certain germs of his later views already existed in Saul's mind during the early part of his career, it is impossible to say. It is probable that some germs did exist of a wider view than the purely Jewish.¹ But, at any rate, Saul, in his youth, was mainly occupied with the thought of Hebrew progress in the past, and the coming triumph of Hebrew religion. He could not shut his eyes to the fact that the great line of the prophets had for a considerable time been interrupted; and he must have been

¹ This has been discussed incidentally in the *Expositor*, December, 1901, January, February, 1902; and expressly in the *Contemporary Review*, March, April, 1901.

firmly convinced that the interruption could not last for ever, and that a new revelation of the Divine power was likely soon to come. There can be no doubt that the feeling to which John the Baptist gave utterance was deep and wide-spread in the nation; and few will doubt that Saul shared it.

With this belief in the reality and frequency of Divine revelation reigning with intense fervour in his mind, Saul must always have been prepared to hear that a prophet had appeared; and, according to our conception of his character, he must from childhood have been filled with the desire and hope of hearing for himself the Divine voice. He must have had his mind roused by the message of John; he may probably have heard him, and believed fervently his announcement of the immediate coming of Christ. That belief must claim notice later.

But, further, Saul undoubtedly was eager, and was preparing himself by education, by study, by scrupulous obedience to the Law, by ardent zeal in enforcing it on others, to be in a fit state to hear the voice of God. It may be argued that this eagerness rendered him the more open to self-deception: and there is of course some plausibility in that argument.

The issue was that he did become the recipient of revelation, and that his life was profoundly affected, and his views revolutionized thereby. He repeatedly described himself, or is described by others, as having both seen the Lord and heard His voice.

Now what do we understand by this? The question cannot and ought not to be evaded. Paul's words are too clear and strong to be passed over as inexact or unimportant. He declared emphatically that the revelations made to him, the words spoken to him, and the sights granted to his eyes, were his greatest privilege and honour, and constituted the motive power of all his action, and supplied

the whole spirit and essence of his life. Those revelations, and especially the first of them, when he saw Jesus on the way, when he was now nigh unto Damascus, were in his view the most real events of his life. In comparison with them, all else was mere shadow and semblance; in those moments he had come in contact with the truth of the world, the Divine reality. He had been permitted to become aware of the omnipresent God who is everywhere around us and in us.

Various attempts are made to explain away or soften down his clear and emphatic words by devices of a more or less sophistical kind; and many people hope in this way to retain all that they like in Paul, while they pretend that he did not mean what they dislike. But all such attempts to close the eyes to plain facts are unreasonable.

In truth that vision near Damascus is the critical point, on which all study of St. Paul's life must turn. On our conception of that event depends the whole interpretation of his life. The question at this stage is not whether that event as he conceived it was true and real, or was distorted and exaggerated in his mind owing to some diseased and unbalanced mental state. That question will come up in its proper place.

The preliminary question alone here concerns us: was that event, in the form that Paul describes it, a possible one, or was it wholly and absolutely impossible?

If it be an impossibility that the Divine nature can thus reveal itself to human senses, then the whole life and work of Paul would be a mere piece of self-deception. To those who take that point of view, the only other alternative to self-deception, regarding a man who declared that the Divine nature had manifested itself to his hearing and sight, would be the supposition of imposture. But, in the case of Saul, this alternative is, by common consent, set aside. He was an honest believer in what he said.

Now no amount of evidence can make us believe in what we know to be impossible. One who holds such manifestation to be impossible cannot regard seriously any evidence of its having occurred. He cannot listen to it. It is condemned in his mind before it is brought forward, as involving either self-deception and unsound mind or imposture. If he examines at all the so-called "evidence," he does so only as a matter of curiosity, or interest in the vagaries of human error.

That view has been very widely spread in recent years. It is tacitly held by many who would shrink from explicitly formulating it even to their own mind in private. It is openly and resolutely declared by many learned and honest men. Scientific investigators have discussed and given a name to the precise class of madness to which Paul's delusions must be assigned.

Now there have been many madmen in all times; but the difficulty which many feel in classing St. Paul among them arises from the fact that not merely did he persuade every one who heard him that he was sane and spoke the truth, but that also he has moved the world, changed the whole course of history, and made us what we are. Is the world moved at the word of a lunatic? To think that would be to abandon all belief in the existence of order and unity in the world and in history; and therefore we are driven to the conclusion that St. Paul's vision is one of the things about which evidence ought to be scrutinized and examined without any foregone conclusion in one's mind.

Further, it is part of our view that the Divine nature, if it is really existent in our world, must in some way come into relation to man, and affect mankind. The Divine nature is not existent for us, except in so far as we can hope and strive to come into direct relation with it. If we cannot hope to do so, then the Divine nature belongs only

to another world, and has no reality, no existence in ours. What is God to us if we cannot come into knowledge of, or relation with Him? Either you must say that we know nothing about the existence of any God, or you must admit that man can in some way become aware of the existence, i.e. the nature, of God. Now to say that we can become aware of the nature of God is only another way of saying that the Divine nature is revealed to man; and if it is revealed that can only be because it reveals itself by coming into direct relation to man. There is nothing that can reveal God except Himself.

It must, therefore, be true that God reveals Himself to man in some way or other. St. Paul claims to have received such revelation; and we ought not to set aside his claim as irrational and necessarily false. The case is one which deserves scrutiny, examination, rigid testing.

St Paul also claims to have received this revelation in an eminent and unusual degree: in other words, that he was more sensitive to, and more able to learn about, the Divine nature than others.

This claim also is one that deserves to be carefully scrutinized with an open mind. If we admit that the Divine nature reveals itself to men, then there must be inequality and variety in the revelation to different individuals. There is no equality or uniformity in nature.

It is not involved in our view that we must be able to explain clearly in scientific detail exactly what takes place in such a revelation, and by what precise process an individual man becomes cognizant of the Divine nature and purpose. There are powers of acquiring knowledge which are an unintelligible mystery to those who have not possessed and exercised them; and this is a case in which possession implies exercise, and only exists in virtue of being exercised.

Who can gauge, or understand, or describe, the way in

which a great mathematical genius hurries on in his sweep of reasoning with easy, unerring rapidity? Even when his reasoning is afterwards explained in detail, few are capable of being educated up to the comprehension of it. To him it is far easier to sweep on from step to step in his reasoning about the forces that act in the world than to explain his steps so as to bring them within the comprehension even of the few who can be educated to understand. His demonstration of his process of reasoning would be to all but a handful of exceptional persons an unintelligible jargon, having no more reality or sense than the ravings of a madman. But to him those words and signs, so meaningless to others, present a vision of order and beauty, of reality and symmetry, which changes the whole aspect and nature of the universe in his thought, and enables him and his successors to turn its forces to their purposes, and to affect profoundly the life and fortunes of mankind.

Why should we doubt, or hesitate to admit, that there may be even greater differences between different men as regards the power of coming into relation with, and comprehending, the Divine nature than there is in power of comprehending mathematical truth? Yet all men have some little power of comprehending mathematical reasoning, and similarly all are endowed with some rudimentary power of attaining a knowledge of the Divine nature.

And in both cases, from want of exercise, want of desire, sluggishness, or idleness, the endowment of power may remain undeveloped, and apparently non-existent.

Now, when we speak of recognizing the truth of those great processes of mathematical reasoning which were alluded to, there are two totally different ways and kinds of recognition. The discoverer himself recognizes intuitively, but the world takes him on credit: it recognizes by faith. This is a case where we believe without understanding.

Though we cannot attain anything beyond the vaguest and most rudimentary understanding of what the discoverer has seen and of the way in which he can perceive it, yet we believe unquestioningly and unhesitatingly that he has comprehended a department of external nature which we cannot comprehend.

Now the reason why in that case we believe without understanding and through mere faith is partly because we recognize in him the spirit of truth—we perceive that the man has no reason to deceive us, that his whole credit and in a sense his life is staked on his truth and accuracy; we feel, and all men recognize unhesitatingly, that his is a truthful mind, and one can see the joy and the consciousness of knowledge glorifying and irradiating his personality—and partly because we see the results of the knowledge which he has gained: we believe in his knowledge because it manifests itself in power.

But the original discoverer recognizes intuitively and unerringly the truth of his reasoning. To know when one's reasoning is correct is the foundation of mathematical endowment. One sees and feels it, and one cannot shake off the knowledge or free oneself from it. Galileo might, under compulsion, pretend to acknowledge that the earth does not move, but he could not get rid of the knowledge that, in spite of all pretences and confessions, still it does move. This absolute consciousness of knowledge dominates the mind that possesses it, and drives on the man in his career. He must think: he must experiment and test his knowledge in practice, and the test is whether his reasoning realizes itself in actual power.

Surely the same principles of belief may fairly and reasonably be applied in respect of the comprehension and discovery of the Divine nature and will and purpose.

To come into direct relation with the Divine nature, what is that except to make a step in the appreciation of

the truth that underlies the visible and sensual phenomena, to get a glimpse of the eternal value of things, to see them as they are in reality, not as they appear to the mere individual observation from the purely individual standpoint? Man cannot easily rise above his own selfish and narrow point of view, and in the hurry and pressure of common life he can hardly do so at all; yet he is

Not quite so sunk that moments,
Sure, though seldom, are denied him,
When the spirit's true endowments
Stand out plainly from its false ones,
And apprise it if pursuing,
Or the right way, or the wrong way,
To its triumph or undoing.

Such moments do not come in the same way, or amid the same surroundings, to all men. The accompaniments are special to the individual. A man can become possessed of knowledge only in such way as he is capable of receiving it, and that is a matter of his habits and education and surroundings.

One who has learned almost entirely through the senses, who lives by reliance on sight and hearing, cannot learn, and could not believe, anything except what comes to him through those senses, or rather is associated with impressions of the senses. The thought is, of course, distinct from the impressions, but it comes with them and seems to come through them, and the reality of the experience lies not in the impressions on the senses, but in the sudden consciousness of the Divine nature animating the world, in which hitherto the man was aware only of the objects that touched his senses.

To one who is accustomed to gain knowledge by contemplation and thought, the revelation of the Divine nature will come in that way. He does not connect truth with sense-impressions; rather he distrusts these, knowing that they are mere shadows which his own

personality casts on the world, and that reality does not lie that way.

But in either case the perception of the Divine truth is ultimate, final, and convincing. He who has seen knows. And he can never again lose the knowledge, nor live unhesitatingly the free unconscious life of previous days. The consciousness of the Divine nature becomes a power within him, driving him on to his destiny, good or evil.

The question whether the physical sensations which are sometimes associated with the perception are real is obviously a superficial and unintelligent one. What sensation is real?

Here take the individual instance. What can we learn from the case of St. Paul, admitting for the moment that he acquired higher and better knowledge of God in those revelations of which he speaks. Those who were with him near Damascus had a vague idea that something was taking place; they were aware of light, and even of sound, but they did not hear any voice, nor were they affected in any noteworthy way. Had Paul died there, no one would have known that anything remarkable had occurred. Such is the clear and unmistakable account in which Paul and Luke agree.

On the one hand, it is plain that Paul's companions did not see what he saw. On the other hand, it is equally plain that they learned nothing there, whereas Paul obtained an insight into truth and reality which revolutionized his aims and changed the world's history, and that he would not have obtained this insight except through what he saw and heard. If the test of reality lies in the capacity of all sentient beings to experience the same sensations when placed in the same position, then Paul's vision was not real. But is that a fair test? Are there not phenomena in the world where that test fails?

Are there not more things in the world than those which everybody can see and hear? Is this not one of the things which we may and must take on credit and believe without understanding? That question is surely worth putting and carefully considering in the light of Paul's whole career.

There is nothing but scholastic pedantry in debating the question as to the reality of Paul's sensations of sight and hearing on that occasion. There is no standard accepted by the opposing parties, there is no agreement as to the meaning of the terms; each side discusses with its mind made up beforehand, and its eyes closed to the intention of its opponents. There can be no issue and no result; the question is as barren as that older question about the number of angels who can stand on the point of a needle. The problem should be approached otherwise.

The lesson which Saul had to learn before he could make any progress in knowledge of the Divine nature was that the actual Jesus of recent notoriety in Palestine—the Jesus whom, as I believe, he had seen and known—was still living, and not, as he had fancied, dead. His was not a soul disciplined, eager to learn, ready to obey. It was a soul firm in its own false opinion—not even possessed of “true opinion”—resolute and hardened in perfect self-satisfaction, proud of what it believed to be its knowledge, strong in its high principle and its sense of duty. There was no possibility that he should by any process of mere thinking come to realize the truth. Nothing could appeal to him except through the senses of hearing and sight.

Such we see to be the general conditions of the situation. St. Paul tells us the result. He heard, he saw, he was convinced, he was a witness to the world that the Jesus who had lived and been crucified was still living. But those who were with him did not learn, did not see, did not hear. They were not capable of gaining the know-

ledge which Saul acquired, nor should we be capable if we could be put in the same situation now. They were not, and we are not, able to respond as Saul was to the impulse of the Divine nature. The same experience would not convince them or us. Saul knew that this was Jesus, and his plans of life, his aspirations after the Divine life, his conceptions of the possibilities of work in the existing situation of the world, his longing for the Messiah who was to make Judaism the conquering faith of the civilized world, his whole fabric of thought and religion and belief, were in such a position that this sudden perception of the truth about Jesus recreated and invigorated all his mental and moral frame.

That perception, then, was the real part of the experience which came to Saul. But that perception could not be gained by him except in a certain way, with certain physical accompaniments, and certain affection of the senses, and those accompaniments acquire reality from being the vehicle of a real perception of truth in one special and peculiar case.

That brief experience in which Saul learned so much was the outcome of his whole past career, the crystallization into a new form of all the loose elements of will and thought and emotion which his life and education had given him, under the impulse of the sudden imparting to his mind of the decisive factor; and the physical accompaniments conveyed the spark or the impulse which set the process in motion.

If then it be asserted that the sensations which Paul experienced were in themselves a necessary part of the knowledge which he acquired, one must denounce the assertion as false and irrational. The sensations were only a proof of the weakness of nature, the insensibility to purer and higher ways of acquiring truth, in which Paul was as yet involved: they were the measure of his ignor-

ance, not the necessary vehicle of his knowledge. As he became more sensitive to the Divine nature, and more capable of catching the Divine message, he rose superior to the grosser method of communication through the senses.

That St. Paul was conscious of a growth and elevation of his own powers of perception in regard to the Divine nature seems implied clearly in 2 *Corinthians* v. 16, *even though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now we know Him so no more.*

Standing on this point of view one sees that the variation between Luke (*these men, hearing a voice, but seeing no man*, Acts ix. 7) and Paul (*they saw indeed the light, but heard not the voice*, Acts xxii. 9) with regard to the degree to which Paul's sensations were shared in by his companions, stamps the sensations as being accidental and secondary, the encumbrances rather than an essential accompaniment of his perception of truth.

So also the older disciples learned the truth through sight and hearing; they had known the Man, and they must hear and see before they could realize that he was not dead. But there is in the mind of the Evangelist who saw and heard a consciousness that those sensations are mere accidents of the individual, personally incidental to their peculiar experience and condition, merely ways by which the truth was made clear to their duller minds: *Because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed. Blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed.*

What would it have meant to those companions of Paul's then, what would it mean to us now, if the information could have been suddenly flashed on them or on us that Jesus was living? It would mean little or nothing. We should dine and sleep as usual. Those men would have proceeded quietly to Damascus, and reported that they had an odd experience by the way, but whether it was real or a phantasm, true or untrue, they did not know.

There lies the difference. The man to whom the Divine reveals itself recognizes inevitably. He cannot doubt or hesitate : he knows at once and for ever.

The Divine never reveals itself in vain. Or perhaps one should rather say that the Divine is always ready to reveal itself, but we do not perceive it except when we are in such a state that we are convinced by it, and recognize it. There is a wonderful passage in T. H. Green's *Essay on "The Philosophy of Aristotle."*¹

"If in any true sense man can commune with the spirit within him, in the same he may approach God, as one who, according to the highest Christian idea, 'liveth in him.' Man however is slow to recognize the divinity that is within himself in his relation to the world. He will find the spiritual somewhere, but cannot believe that it is the natural rightly understood. What is under his feet and between his hands is too cheap and trivial to be the mask of eternal beauty. But half aware of the blindness of sense which he confesses, he fancies that it shows him the every-day world, from which he must turn away if he would attain true vision. If a prophet tell him to do some great thing, he will obey. He will draw up 'ideal truth' from the deep, or bring it down from heaven, but cannot believe that it is within and around him. Stretching out his hands to an unknown God, he heeds not the God in whom he lives and moves and has his being. He cries for a revelation of Him, yet will not be persuaded that His hiding-place is the intelligible world, and that He is incarnate in the Son of Man, who through the communicated strength of thought is Lord also of that world."

But the human being who is to become sensitive to the Divine presence and voice must be able to do his part. The manifestation cannot be wholly one-sided : there must

¹ *Works*, iii. p. 87 : I well remember the delight with which I read that essay in its early form in the *North British Review*.

be the proper condition of mind, and body, and intellect, and will in the man. What all the conditions are no one can say, except perhaps one to whom the manifestation has been granted. But one thing is sure: a certain state of mental receptivity is needed, and a certain long preparation of the whole nature of the recipient must have occurred.

The preparation was, in several forms of ancient religion, described as purification; and formal rules were prescribed as regards time and rites. In such a state of things the preparation of the mind, the emotions, and the will, soon become almost a secondary matter, and purification was mainly ceremonial, though even in the most formal and vulgar religious prescriptions the proper moral and mental state was never entirely lost sight of.

But, it will be objected, when we speak of the Divine nature as revealing itself to man through the senses, we are introducing an element of the supernatural, and asking men to believe what no rational being can accept, inasmuch as it is contrary to reason.

This objection is merely verbal, it shows not even a faint glimmering conception of the real situation, it belongs to a stage and a way of thinking that we ought now to have left behind us.

If the Divine reveals itself to the human nature, the latter must in receiving the knowledge rise above its ordinary plane of mere individual existence, it must rise superior to the limitations of time and space, and contemplate truth, and eternity, and reality. Its momentary elevation to the plane of the Divine view is necessarily and inevitably a superhuman fact, but why call it supernatural? It is surely a part of the order of nature that man should reach out towards God; if that, or anything involved in that, is supernatural or marvellous or miraculous, then everything in the life of man beyond the mere reception of impressions and action under their stimulus,

every step in the progress of knowledge, every widening of the outlook of man over and beyond the single successive phenomena of the world, is equally marvellous and supernatural. But the order of nature is that man should strive to rise, and should succeed in rising, above the level from which he starts. Nothing in his life is real except the advance that he makes above himself. He cannot attain to knowledge and truth, but yet he does attain to them in so far as he struggles a little way towards them. He lives at all only in so far as he moves onward: stagnation is death. All that is real is superhuman: what is only human is mere negation and unreality, the expression of our ignorance and our remoteness from truth and knowledge and God.

In truth the stigmatizing of anything in the revelation to man of the Divine nature as supernatural or contrary to reason is simply the arbitrary and unreasoning attempt to establish that our ignorance is the real element in the world, and to bound the possibilities of the universe by our own acquisitions and perceptions.

The only proper attitude before such questions is that of inquiry and of open-mindedness—surely that is a truism, and yet it is to the so-called free and critical mind that we have to address this remonstrance!

The investigator in every department of science and study knows that it is half the battle to succeed in putting the right question. In this case the right question is, what can we learn from Paul's experience? And not how was Paul's evidence falsified? nor what insanity misled him?

W. M. RAMSAY.

STUDIES IN THE "INNER LIFE" OF JESUS.

VIII.

THE JUDGMENT OF RELIGIOUS RULERS AND TEACHERS.

1. JESUS began the fulfilment of His vocation by testing the preparedness of His environment. As the greatest preparedness might be looked for in the disciples of the Baptist, His forerunner and herald, He first called some of them to be His companions. In His own kindred He did not find the needed readiness, and He had to sever Himself from His own family that He might do His work. *Jerusalem*, with its glorious but tragic history, with its sacred memories, hallowed associations, and religious influences, drew Him. Here stood the sanctuary of His people's faith, here was the heart of the national life, here was a stage large and lofty enough for the Messiah of the race to take His place and fill His part, here were in greatest volume two of the channels in which the piety and the devotion of the age flowed. Far from Jerusalem, estranged from its worship and separated from its life, the *Essenes* sought to nourish and to cherish the higher life of unworldliness and godliness; but with them Jesus seems to have had no contact, over them He exercised, and from them He received no influence. In Jerusalem, however, as the leading priests of the Temple, the *Sadducees* combined official piety and personal secularity, the administration of the national worship and the advancement of their individual interests, using godliness as a means of gain. As they were conservative in doctrine and practice, so were they tenacious of their position and privileges. Their successful rivals for popularity in the city were the *Pharisees*, for whom the law, with a multitude of traditional explanations and extensions, was Israel's highest good as well as heaviest burden, and who found in the synagogue a sphere of prominence and

influence denied them in the Temple. These two parties of rulers and teachers of the people needed to be tested by Jesus, that He might discover how far they would be hostile or favourable to His work. In His treatment of both classes we find the two features of His conduct, already noted in a previous Study. He showed both courage and wisdom; in running a risk He made a test. He ventured on the disclosure of His secret only so far as to make full discovery for Himself of what He might hope for, or must fear from those whose position and authority marked them out as either His most helpful friends or His most hurtful foes. The two incidents recorded in John's Gospel, *the Cleansing of the Temple* (ii. 13-22) and *the Talk with Nicodemus* (iii. 1-12), have this common interest, that in both Jesus stands with the sifting fan in His hand.

2. The record of the cleansing of the Temple in John's Gospel raises a critical problem, which, as it seems not incapable of solution by the psychological method of the study of the "Inner Life" of Jesus, may here be properly and fitly dealt with. In the Synoptic Gospels we have also a brief record of a similar act, but placed at the close of the ministry. At first sight it seems highly improbable that there were two cleansings. The act repeated would not have the same significance as when only once performed. Varying traditions might be sufficient to explain the difference in details of the narratives. John betrays no consciousness of a subsequent, or the Synoptists of an antecedent cleansing; each record represents the act as solitary. We seem to be shut up to choosing between the Synoptic and the Johannine narratives. Arguments for each side can be brought forward. It is unlikely that Jesus would so soon make so plain a claim to be the Messiah, and so quickly make enemies of the Jewish rulers—thus urge the advocates of the Synoptic record. The defenders of the Johannine reply: The act need not be regarded as

an open claim of the Messiahship, as any pious Jew might be righteously indignant at such unhallowing of the Temple, and might let his indignation burst forth in such an act; and even the story of the Judæan ministry at the close of Jesus' life, as told in the Synoptists, presupposes an earlier ministry, in which Jesus had already come into conflict with the ecclesiastical authorities. But it seems to the writer that when we examine the records more closely in the light of the consciousness of Jesus, the improbability of two cleansings is not so great as at first sight appears. It has already been suggested that the cleansing of the Temple at the beginning of the ministry was prompted by the intense enthusiasm with which Jesus entered on His vocation. It was indeed a sign of the zeal for God which was eating Him up. It is not, however, to be judged as a reckless foolish outburst. His intense emotion was so guided and ruled by His wisdom that the very act which relieved His pent-up feelings was also a means of laying bare to Him the secrets of the hearts of the Jewish rulers. It was not intended as a plain declaration of Messiahship, but as a stirring call for religious reform, addressed to those who were most directly responsible for the religious condition of the people. The cleansing of the Temple at the close of the ministry, as recorded by the Synoptists, on the other hand, had evidently a Messianic significance. Jesus had welcomed Messianic honours from the people. His entering Jerusalem on an ass was one token of the kind of Messiahship He was willing to accept, a humble and gracious sovereignty. His cleansing of the Temple was another; His reign would be in righteousness and holiness. The second demonstration was addressed to the people rather than to the rulers, although the repetition of the act would be intended to recall to and enforce on their attention the solemn warning by which the act on the first occasion had been justified.

3. This utterance of Jesus, "Destroy this temple, and

in three days I will raise it up" (John ii. 19), as throwing fuller and clearer light on the thoughts and feelings of Jesus at this time, claims closer study. But we are at once brought face to face with a difficulty. The Evangelist himself offers us an explanation of the saying. Must we accept this interpretation as infallible and authoritative, or dare we exercise our own judgment on its suitability? It is evident that many of Jesus' sayings during His earthly life were either not understood, or even misunderstood by His disciples. The Evangelist himself here confesses that the saying was not understood till after the Resurrection. But we may ask, Were the Apostles so changed, even by the gift of the Spirit, as to become at once infallible interpreters of the mind of Christ? No such claim is made for them in the New Testament. Both in respect of their eager anticipation of the second coming of Christ and their tardy recognition of the place of the Gentiles in the Church, they showed themselves to be fallible men needing to be taught. If Peter's exegesis of the 16th Psalm in his discourse after Pentecost (Acts ii. 29-31), however appropriate for the occasion, was not accurate historically, may not John's interpretation of this saying of Jesus, however inevitable it might appear to him to be, yet be inapplicable to the historical situation and fail to express exactly the intention of Jesus in speaking? Such a suggestion is sometimes met with the taunt, that the person making it thus claims to be better and wiser than the Apostles. But the unworthy sneer can easily be robbed of its sting. On the one hand it may be pointed out that the minds of the Apostles were so preoccupied by the marvel of the Resurrection that they were prone to see the whole past of Jesus' life in its light, and, therefore, to find references to, and anticipations of the event in all sayings of Jesus about the meaning of which there was some doubt, but in which such an allusion might possibly be discovered.

Standing further away from the event we are free of this absorption of thought. On the other hand it may be claimed that we can now see the life of Jesus, in the light which the history of Christianity during all these centuries throws upon it, as the Apostles could not. There is much in the teaching of Jesus to which Christian history alone can afford the illuminative commentary. Confessing humbly and sincerely his inferiority to a Peter or a John, the modern interpreter may believe that he has this advantage over them, that they belonged to the first, he to the twentieth Christian century; and the history of these centuries should not count for naught in fitting men to understand the mind of Jesus, which is not for one age, but for all time.

4. Having justified his doubt regarding the Evangelist's interpretation, the writer may now frankly state that it seems to him inappropriate. Had the words been spoken towards the close of the ministry, when in His speech Jesus distinctly anticipated death from the enmity of the ecclesiastical authorities, and emphatically declared His assurance that God would raise Him from the dead, this explanation would have been more probable. As Jesus did not speak of His death and rising again to His followers till after the turning-point of the Galilean ministry, such an allusion at this time contradicts what the Gospel narratives suggest regarding alike His own experience and His method of dealing with others. Such a reference too would have no meaning whatever for those to whom the words were addressed, and it is difficult to discover in it any immediate application to the actual situation. The challenge, "If you kill Me, I shall rise again," would be no answer to the question regarding His right to do this deed. Besides, it may be noted that Jesus does not elsewhere speak of His body as the temple of God, and that He does not claim to raise Himself from the dead, but is assured that the

Father will raise Him. Both phrases suggest later phases of Christian thought. On these grounds it seems to the writer impossible to accept this explanation of the saying.

5. A better explanation is not far to seek ; it is suggested by the context. The words are addressed to the ecclesiastical authorities in Jerusalem, who claimed to be the guardians of the religious life of the people, and who challenged the right of any man, not belonging to their privileged and consecrated caste, to interfere in any way with the control of the religious affairs of the nation. Jesus had so interfered, and was required to prove His authority to do so. Could He have declared His authority more effectively than by condemning their incapacity, and asserting His own competence? He could not do this in unequivocal language without prematurely and precipitately bringing to a close His controversy with the rulers. It was needful for Him to exercise some reserve in expression. Hence the enigmatical form of the answer, the meaning of which now seems plain to us, and may be rendered in this paraphrase. Go on doing as you now are, and you will prove, not the defenders, but the destroyers of the national religion, of which this building is the sanctuary. But even should you succeed in bringing ruin on the Jewish faith, I, whose right to work this reform you challenge, am able to bring about a spiritual restoration in a very short time. In this answer Jesus did not appeal to some future event, but to His own present consciousness of a vocation which He was confident He was able to fulfil in spite of all the opposition the Jewish rulers might offer. Two points in this statement especially claim notice : (1) His condemnation of the Jewish priesthood, and (2) His confidence in His vocation.

6. Where no compromise of principle was involved, Jesus conformed to the religious and moral standards of

the age and the people, but He transcended both in His personal faith and life. Although He went up to the temple at the feasts, His aim was not so much to offer worship as to teach the multitudes that resorted thither, for His communion with God did not seek, and could not have found an unimpeded channel in the Temple ritual. Yet He valued the worship in the sanctuary at Jerusalem as an expression of the religious life of the nation, in which there was much formalism, but through which even spirituality might be exercised. The court of the Gentiles, where those who were outside of the covenant might nevertheless approach the God of the covenant in devotion, divorced from ritual forms, seems to have been especially dear to Him as a token of the breadth of the heavenly Father's love; we can understand, therefore, His indignation at finding that the ecclesiastical authorities paid more regard to ritual observances than to devotional feelings in allowing the traffic in the requisites for ritual worship to disturb the hallowed calm of the place of devotion, and that they dared to show their contempt for the Gentiles by using their court as a market-place. Their action revealed not only their formalism and secularity, but also their exclusiveness and arrogance. For the sake of gain they polluted the sanctuary of which they were the guardians. This conduct was the external symptom of a deep-rooted and wide-spread internal disease, which, if not arrested in its course, must end in death. The formalism and traditionalism, the arrogance and exclusiveness, the avarice and ambition of the priests were destructive of the religious life of the nation. Their irritation at Jesus' interference showed their insensibility to appeal, their incapacity for reform, and so justified the unqualified severity of the censure which Jesus pronounced upon them.

7. Although Jesus thus condemned the recognized religious leaders, yet He did not despair of religion in the

nation. Devotion might be associated with the Temple, but was not dependent upon it. Piety would not always need priests, and altars, and sacrifices. The change had already begun, as the synagogue had drawn to itself some of the interests and aspirations which would otherwise have clung to the Temple. The synagogue did form the transition from the Jewish Temple to the Christian Church; and its simpler worship was an anticipation of, and preparation for the spiritual service, detached from ritual observances, which is characteristic of the Christian religion. That Jesus looked forward to such a change is not so surprising as that He expected the change to come soon and suddenly, for it would have seemed much more likely at the time that the change would come gradually. Jesus knew, however, that God had pronounced the sentence of the old order, and that He had summoned the forces of the new. He was conscious that in His own person there was the power to give to the people a new religious life in place of the old which the priesthood was destroying. He was confident that this mission would not end in failure, but would be crowned with success. If we think of the history which the Temple represented, the ideas that it symbolized, the religion expressed by it, if we recall the wisdom of the founder and lawgiver of the people, the moral purity and intellectual sanity and spiritual sublimity of the prophets—although that splendid past was obscured by this mean present—and then fix our gaze on this Carpenter of Nazareth, this Galilean peasant without any learning of the schools and any support of the sects, who calmly anticipates the destruction of such a sanctuary of such a nation, and confidently asserts His ability to give the world what should compensate for its loss, we marvel at His audacity until we remember that history has fulfilled His prophecy, and that He has raised a better and more enduring temple in the Church which is His body.

8. If the priests showed that they would be a hindrance and not a help in the movement to a more spiritual worship and a more ethical service of God, their rivals, the Pharisees, might at first sight appear to offer better promise of sympathy and support. The Pharisees were not altogether indifferent to goodness and godliness, and not quite subdued by selfishness and worldliness. There were empty professors and vain pretenders among them, but there were also serious and earnest men. It is evident that as a class they closely and eagerly watched the beginning of the ministry of Jesus in Jerusalem; at first it may be with mere curiosity, but afterwards it would seem with growing interest. By His miracles some at least were convinced that He was a prophet with a Divine commission, and, like popular religious leaders in all ages, they were ready to patronize Him, and even seek an alliance with Him, with the aim and in the hope of making His efforts subserve their purposes, and turning His success to their own credit and advantage. Nicodemus, more favourably impressed than most of the others, came to Jesus, not only to satisfy his own desire for fuller knowledge, but even to secure information which might guide his party in its decision for or against the new movement. He is usually regarded as an anxious inquirer, whose timidity and caution prevented his approaching Jesus by day, and led him to pay his visit in the secrecy and the silence of night. But the narrative, closely studied, does not bear out this impression of him. Jesus does not welcome him as graciously, or treat him as generously as we may be sure He would have done had he come truly as one distressed by darkness and desirous of light. He addresses him not as an individual inquirer, but as the representative of a class. Nicodemus greets Jesus with a patronizing tone, which at once evokes a stinging rebuke. Instead of a growing faith he displays an increasing incredulity. Instead of allowing himself to be guided into truth by the wisdom of Jesus, he seeks to

show the folly of His words. He is dismissed curtly as one who, conceited and confident about his own wisdom and discernment, has nevertheless shown himself quite incapable of understanding even elementary spiritual truth. There is, in the writer's judgment, little doubt that the talk of Jesus with Nicodemus ends with verse 10, or less probably with verse 12, and what remains consists of the Evangelist's reflections on the conversation. It is generally admitted that these reflections begin at verse 16; but it seems extremely improbable that to so undiscerning and unsympathetic a listener Jesus would have communicated any of the heavenly things mentioned in verses 13 to 15. Verses 11 to 12 may with less improbability be regarded as still belonging to the report of the conversation, but a decision of the question cannot here be confidently offered.

9. If Nicodemus may be treated as representing the Pharisaic party, then the demand for a new birth, a birth from above, a birth of water and the spirit, made by Jesus, indicates His judgment on the Pharisaic party. Only by a thorough change could any member of that party be made capable of appreciating and appropriating the spiritual good which he had been sent and fitted by God to impart to men. If we consider what the distinctive features of Pharisaism were, we shall approve Jesus' judgment. God was conceived as Lawgiver, Ruler, Judge. His relation to man was confined to the promulgation of a moral code and a ritual system, the enforcement of their provisions the reward of obedience or observance and the punishment of disobedience or disregard. Man, on the other hand, was the recipient of law, the subject of rule, and the blessed or the accursed by God's judgment. It was his interest to know and to do his duty, that he might escape penalty and secure reward. Duty was not conceived as an inward personal disposition, but as a comprehensive and complex code of observances and restrictions, not only difficult to

fulfil, but even perplexing to discover ; and yet for obedience there was offered the great reward of participation in the glorious Messianic kingdom. The Pharisees not only made this reward their aim, but they held it as their hope, because they themselves believed, and the popular judgment endorsed their claim, that they had fulfilled the legal condition, so that a share in the kingdom of the Messiah would be theirs not by God's favour, but by their own merits. The Baptist, it is true, had protested against, but had not to any extent disturbed this complacency. As herald of the kingdom he had demanded from all repentance and baptism as its sign if they desired to enter the kingdom, and had promised the gift of the Spirit as one of its blessings. Although some of the Pharisees, seeking to win popular favour by appearing to share the people's enthusiasm for the Baptist had sought baptism at his hands, yet he detected and denounced their insincerity. As a party it was impossible for the Pharisees to accept and approve the Baptist's ministry. Jesus sends Nicodemus as representing the party back to the Baptist ; only by the way of John could they approach Him. Before they could understand or judge whether His teaching was true, and of God, before they could join in the movement of moral reform and religious revival which He was carrying on, they must be prepared to acknowledge their sin and guilt, to turn from their evil ways and false thoughts, to recognize their insufficiency and impotence ; they must be willing to accept as God's free gift the pardon of their old sinful life, and the power of the new holy life, by which alone they could apprehend and appropriate the kingdom. It is evident how thoroughly opposed to Pharisaic assurance and expectation such a demand was. In making it so uncompromisingly Jesus showed how absolutely hostile to, and irreconcilable with His moral and spiritual ideal Pharisaism appeared to be. For Him God was the Father, who seeks and saves His lost children, who cannot win anything by merit, and need not

seek to do so, as their Father is no hard taskmaster. For Him man's need and helplessness appeared the strongest plea for God's full and free grace.

10. The form in which the demand is made claims closer attention. It reveals to us the significance and value for Jesus in His vocation of His experience in baptism. He Himself had fulfilled the condition which He laid down for others. In so far as it was possible for one so sinless and so spiritual as He was, He had been born anew of water and of the spirit. He had, as has already been shown, entered sympathetically and vicariously into the experience of repentance, of which baptism was the symbol. He had been endowed to fit Him fully for His work with the power of the Holy Spirit. He was in this initial experience, as He was to be in subsequent experiences, the firstborn among many brethren. In some measure all who desired to share the life in God which He Himself lived, and had come to impart to men, must pass through the same experience as He had. Paul was afterwards to teach that the saved sinner must identify Himself with the Saviour's experience of the Cross endured, as well as the Grave conquered. It should not be overlooked that the servant had the Master's warrant for this teaching, which for many has seemed too individually Pauline to be acknowledged universally Christian. Jesus too required of His disciples a vital union with Himself, not only an appropriation of the blessings secured by His experience, but a reproduction in them of that experience as the condition of their enjoyment of these blessings. If it were made clear beyond all doubt or question that the faith in God's grace which saves is a baptism with Jesus in repentance and regeneration, a death to sin, and a rising again to holiness with Him, evangelical theology would be delivered altogether from the danger, from which it has not always escaped, of failing to be intensely and vigorously ethical. This principle, that the experience of

Jesus is typical, is capable of varied and extensive application, and the result of a courageous and faithful application of it, would be that on the one hand the life of Jesus would gain in human interest; and the life of the Christian, on the other hand, in Divine significance. It was by this spiritual reproduction of Himself that Jesus intended to raise up that spiritual temple to God, which would replace the material Temple, the worship of which the priests were destroying by their formalism and secularity. If the one incident teaches us the sublime confidence which Jesus cherished regarding His ability to fulfil this vocation, the other shows us the no less sublime humility of His method of fulfilment. He knew that He could lead men up to the heights where God dwelleth; but He was willing that He might so lead them to tread every step of the path which runs in the depths of man's sin and misery, darkness and death. He was alike confident of exaltation, and prepared for humiliation.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

ON THE MEANING AND SCOPE OF JEREMIAH VII. 22, 23.

BUT, lastly, the most important of the phrases relevant to this point is דַּעַת אֱלֹהִים מַעֲלִיָּת (Hos. vi. 6b). In the paraphrase of this clause the כּוֹן is retained by the Targum.

עֲבָרֵי אִוְרֵיתָא דִּי מִמַּסְקֵי¹ עֲלֹן ("the fulfillers of the Law of Jahveh are better than the bringers of sacrifice"), and also by the Peschitta (ܟܝܢ). This כּוֹן is also rendered by the sign of the comparative in LXX. (καὶ ἐπὶ ὕψους θεοῦ ἢ

¹ So pointed according to Levy's *Targumwörterbuch*, but the supra-linear punctuation shows ו with a Shevâ (Merx, *Chrestomathia targumica*, s.v. מַעֲלִיָּת; and Dalman, *Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinischen Aramäisch*, 1894, p. 57). The pronunciation of דִּי (Gen. iii. 8, etc.), which is marked by דִּי in the editio Sabineta of the Targum of Onkelos (ed. Aug. Berliner) and with the sign of Pathach under ד in Kautzsch, *Mittheilung über eine alte Handschrift des Targum Onkelos* (1893, p. xi., and Exod. iii. 2), is not, so far as I see, discussed by Winer, Levy, Merx (*Chrestomathia*, p. 2, 'דִּי'), or Dalman.

δολοκαυτώματα), and in Jerome (et scientiam Dei plus quam holocausta). In like manner Abulwalid, for example, (Riqma, p. 26, line 10 from below, ed. Goldberg) interprets the מן of מעליות in Hosea vi. 6b by יותר מן; that is to say, in a comparative sense. But not only has Luther, for example, translated thus: "and in knowledge and not in burnt sacrifice," but Nolde-Tympe also (pp. 464b, 879a), and Dathe (p. 414) render this מן by "non." Gesenius also in his *Thesaurus*, although in verse 6b he writes, "magis quam," nevertheless opens his discussion of Hosea vi. 6 with the words, "magna intercedit necessitudo inter comparativum particulæ מן usum et vim negativum." Nevertheless, this passage has been cited *last* among those in the great majority of which the relative has been wrongly regarded as a substitute for the absolute negation, because this very passage, on account of verse 6a, belongs to those clauses in which,

(ii.) On the contrary, a merely relative force has been ascribed to the absolute negation.

• This principle has been adopted in the following sentences: Genesis xlv. 8, לֹא אַתֶּם שְׁלַחְתֶּם אֹתִי הִנֵּה כִי הֵאֱלֹהִים; but in Onkelos, Peschitta, LXX., and Jerome, the simple אֵל, וְ, οὐ, and non, are rightly given. For the text is intended merely to deny that the brethren of Joseph had been the originators of the historical mission which Joseph had to discharge in Egypt. Neither does Genesis xlv. 8, in consequence of this negative assertion, set itself in contradiction with chapter xxxvii. 28. Thus Luther is right in paraphrasing:¹ "Venditio vestra non deduxit me in hunc locum." The more recent expositors also have taken the passage in the same way, and, with especial clearness, J. P. Lange in the *Theologisch-Homiletisches Bibelwerk: Genesis*, 2nd edition, p. 444.² Without necessity, and even in oppo-

¹ Lutheri opera ereg. lat. x. 364.

² "He makes now a definite antithesis. 'Not you': therein lies, firstly, his
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sition to the purpose of the text, Nolde-Tympe, p. 424, and Dathe, p. 418, have translated נָל in Genesis xlv. 8 by "non tam." The same commentators wish to find the relative sense of נָל in the following passages besides: in Exodus xvi. 8b, "not against us are your murmurings directed, but against Jahveh." But there also "non tam" is against the intention of the text, as is expressly shown by the preceding question, "What are *we*?" The case is the same in 1 Samuel viii. 7 (Nolde); Isaiah xliii. 18, where לָנ is taken by Nolde in the same sense; Jeremiah iii. 16; vii. 22 (see below); xvi. 14; Psalm l. 8 f. (see below); Proverbs viii. 10a, and xvii. 12b (Dathe). Buxtorf, in his *Thesaurus Grammaticus*, p. 553, quotes as examples of this approximation of נָל or לָנ and נ only Proverbs viii. 10; Hosea vi. 6; and Joel ii. 13 ("vide Prov. xvii. 12, et xxiii. 23"). In Proverbs viii. 10a לָנ is taken as a comparative expression by Kamphausen, also in Kautzsch's *Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, and by Wildeboer.¹ But see above, p. 017.

Gousset, who otherwise frequently goes wrong in his *Commentarii linguae Ebraicae*² on this point, has some almost entirely accurate remarks. For, after adducing a number of such passages in which others sought to find only a relative meaning of נָל, and after showing the most of them (with the exception of Genesis xxxii. 28; Exodus xvi. 8; Ezekiel xvi. 47) to be invalid as proof-passages, he proceeds to add the following warning: "Lector non debet particulam נָל spectare ut ancipitem inter sensum absolutum et comparativum, quasi æquali jure liceret ipsi eam quo mallet modo sumere. Sed pro proprio sensu, nempe absoluto, standum est, donec vel experientia vel analogia fidei

forgiveness; and, secondly, the exposure of the futility of their scheme and its disappearance before the great purpose of God."

¹ Wildeboer, *Kurzer Handcommentar zu den Prov.*, 1897, ad loc.

² I have used the *editio secunda*, Lipsiae, 1743.

alium sensum doceat." These words have in them a ring of anxiety lest the meaning of לֹא should become an inconstant quantity.

Some have thought, however, that it was possible to show from the Arabic that the particles of absolute negation might to some extent receive a merely relative signification. Marti¹ appeals to the fact that among Arabic proverbs, for example, we find "carrying stones with a wise man (*scilicet* is feasible or tolerable) and not (لَا, walā) drinking wine with a fool," but also "carrying stones is better (خير من chairun min) than running a bad trade." But the fact that both forms of expression were used is no guarantee that both were meant to convey the same degree of negation. The first form may have expressed a more definite disapproval than the second. The two forms can only have been intended as equivalents, when they both convey the same content, as when it is said, "An egg to-day (*scilicet* is worth something, and is to be desired) and not (لَا, walā) a chicken to-morrow"; but also "an egg to-day is better ('achjaru min) than a hen to-morrow." But the conclusion here also must be (see above, p. 153) that the use of the comparative form of expression may be a kind of *litotes* in the expression of a negation. Lastly, Marti cites a passage from Hariri's *Maqâmen*, which runs thus: "And ye laugh at a funeral, and your laughter [is or occurs] not in the hour of dancing." Marti translates this passage as though it were a comparison: "And ye laugh at a funeral more than your laughter in the hour of dancing." To me, however, the antithesis seems to require the absolute negation of the idea that the laughter of the persons addressed should proceed from some cause of merriment.

¹ Karl Marti, *Jahrb. für prot. Theol.*, 1880, p. 310 f. The original Arabic sentences are there printed from Socin's collection of Arabic proverbs and idioms (*Academische Einladungsschrift*, Tübingen, 1878), Nos. 68, 69.

Within the New Testament a comparative sense of *οὐ* or *μή* has been found by some (first by Nolde-Tympe and Dathe), for example, *μὴ ἀποστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ* (Matt. v. 39). But this is contrary to the purpose of the text, and the absolute negative is rightly retained in the Peschitta and the Vulgate: *ܠܐ ܕܢܪܝܨܬܐ* ܡܝ; non resistere. The same holds good in Matthew ix. 13 (see below, p. 029); x. 20; xviii. 22; xxiii. 3b (Mark iii. 11 instead of wrong reference in Nolde-Tympe); Luke xiv. 12, where, however, the final sentence must be noticed; 1 Peter iii. 3; 1 John iii. 18; 1 Corinthians i. 17; xv. 10b; Ephesians vi. 12; 1 Thessalonians iv. 8. I cannot conclude in any one of these cases that *οὐ* or *μή* ought not to be taken as an actual complete "not."

Winer, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms*, § 59, No. 8b, thinks that in Matthew x. 20; Mark ix. 37; Luke x. 20; John xii. 44;¹ 1 Corinthians xv. 10; 1 Thessalonians iv. 8, "on rhetorical grounds the absolute negative has been chosen instead of the conditional (relative) not in order really (logically) to set aside altogether the former idea, but in order to direct attention whole and undivided upon the second, so that in comparison with it the first disappears." Nevertheless, and for that very reason, he refuses to translate *οὐ* in the passages referred to by "not so much." And he is perfectly right. Nay, I am inclined to go a step further, and assert that the writers of these passages, such as Matthew x. 20, intended really to dismiss the idea introduced by *οὐ*.

In 1 Corinthians i. 17 also Paul means wholly to deny that Christ had laid upon him the express duty of performing the act of baptism. He intends to explain thereby the statement he has just made (vv. 14, 16) that only very few persons have been baptized by him. But it is not possible to maintain on the ground of the narrative in verses 14 and

¹ See these three passages in the next paragraph but one.

16 that the negation in verse 17 is only a relative one. For by the words οὐ γὰρ ἀπέστειλέ με Χριστὸς βαπτίζειν, ἀλλὰ εὐαγγελίζεσθαι the Apostle may have meant that he had performed the before-mentioned baptisms without an express injunction. Paul may have so thought and done, because he does not anywhere say that Christ has forbidden him to baptize. Thus he may have regarded baptism as an act permitted to him. Winer himself, as I remarked above, does not find any relational character in the statement of 1 Corinthians i. 17, seeing that he recalls Bengel's phrase "quo quis mittitur, id agere debet."¹

This idea, that the *adverbia negandi* (נֹל, לֹא, etc., οὐ, μή) may frequently stand for "not so much," cannot be supported by the assertion that נֹל, etc., sometimes include the notion of "only" or "more" or "first" (Genesis xxxii. 29; xxxv. 10; Jeremiah xvi. 14, which Nolde-Tympe (p 424) would include in this group; Ezekiel xvi. 47; Matthew ix. 13 (see below, p. 217); Mark ix. 37; Luke x. 20; John v. 45; vii. 16; viii. 50; xii. 44; Acts v. 4; 2 Corinthians viii 5. For, in the first place, this rendering is not beyond doubt in all of the passages cited.² And, secondly, both Hebrew and other languages yield other

¹ Hommel, on the other hand (*Die A'tisraelitische Ueberlieferung*, 1897, p. 16), can prove nothing by citing the Reverend Mr. Baxter as representing the opposite opinion.

² Flacius, *Clavis scripturae sacrae* (Bas. 1567; I have used the edition of 1628), says in vol. i. *sub voce* "non": "*Non* interdum non tam negat quam corrigit; Mark ix. 37: *qui me recipit, non me recipit* pro *non tam me recipit*; John vii. 16: *doctrina mea nūc est mea* pro *non tam mea, quam Patris*; John vi. 38: *non ut faciam meam voluntatem* pro *non tam meam quam eius qui me misit*; Deut. v. 3: *non cum patribus nostris iniiit fœdus* id est *non solum*; Gen. xxxii. 23: *non vocabitur nomen tuum Jacob* pro *non solum*." But out of these five examples only the first contains a *correctio*, so that οὐ receives the sense of non tantum. In the second example οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὴ must actually mean "proceeds not from me." In the remaining three examples the negation is a complete one. In Genesis xxxii. 29 (!) also the "only" which was supplied as early as by Salomo ben Melech in *Michlal Jophi* ad loc. (יבבב) corresponds with the intention of the text just as little as the later practice, which continued to use "Jacob" as the name of the third patriarch.

cases of similar brachylogy, in which an "only" is omitted as understood from the context.

It is only now, after having stated and criticised both lines along which many scholars have justified a passing over of the relative into the absolute negative, and *vice versa*, that we can attempt to find a conclusive interpretation of Hosea vi. 6, where it might be possible to discover both of these lines of transference. There are, of course, three possible interpretations of this passage.

(a) Cannot both clauses, 6*a* and 6*b*, mean just what they express, *i.e.*, cannot 6*a* involve an absolute and 6*b* a relative negation? May not the meaning be, "If in regard to me the true choice lies between דָּסָר and slaughter-offering, then דָּסָר alone has value; and if the choice is between knowledge of God and whole-offering, then the former has the preference"? More than one consideration may be adduced in support of this way of taking the passage. For in its favour we have first the actual difference between the expressions (לֵב , כֵּן) chosen in the two clauses, and secondly the difference of their objects. For דָּסָר is undoubtedly active within the sphere of feeling and will: implying affection towards a person or thing, inclination towards it, respect, loyalty, or the like. But דַּעַת אֱלֹהִים concerns, in the first place, the mental sphere, although the idea of דַּעַת frequently contains also an echo which is roused in the sphere of feeling and even of willing by means of some new knowledge (Hos. v. 4*b*; Ps. i. 6, etc.). Now in this passage, where a process in the sphere of feeling and will (דָּסָר) and one whose source is mental (דַּעַת) stand side by side, is not the suggestion an obvious one that the movement whose origin is mental is to be understood in its proper and narrower sense? It is true that "knowledge" may describe here an action of soul distinct from דָּסָר . The proper identity of the two processes דָּסָר and דַּעַת does not follow from the fact that they are put in relation with

similar quantities.¹ For slaughter-offering (זֶבֶחַ) and burnt offering (עֹלָה) are not identical in their religious value; but the burnt offering was a stronger expression of religious feeling. It follows from all this that Hosea in vi. 6 wished to express the two following thoughts: "I take pleasure in affection (love, loyalty, and the like), and not the slaughter-offering, and (even) recognition of God do I value more highly than (even) burnt-sacrifice."² Moreover, the Peschitta has retained the distinction between 6a (לֹא) and 6b (לִּי). So too Jerome writes *et non* in 6a and *plus quam* in 6b. Scholz³ also gives a translation which simply corresponds with the Hebrew; and Driver⁴ also translates without further explanation, "For I desire kindness and not sacrifice, and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings." Molin⁵ too mentions Hosea vi. 6 only as an example of the לִּי *comparativum*. Lastly, Hitzig-Steiner, in their commentary on the Minor Prophets, express no opinion on the inner relation between 6a and 6b; while Joh. Bachmann, in his *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen* (1894), p. 34, passes over Hosea vi. 6 altogether.

(β) The formal difference between Hosea vi. 6a and 6b might be nothing more than an external variation, and the לִּי of 6b might be an expression of preference amounting to a substitute for the negation. This interpretation has enjoyed the preference not only of older (*vide* p.

¹ The relationship between the activities of soul described by נֶפֶשׁ and דָּעַת ought not therefore to be emphasized; Driver's *Sermons on Subjects connected with the Old Testament* (1892), Sermon xii. on Hosea vi. 6 (pp. 218 ff.), p. 224: "By 'knowledge of God' Hosea means here not a merely intellectual apprehension of His nature, but a knowledge displaying itself in conduct, a knowledge of His power, His influence, and His character, resting upon spiritual experience, and resulting in moral practice."

² Thus נֶפֶשׁ אֵלֵיָּהּ stands here for "recognition of Me"; analogous cases will be found in my *Syntaz*, §§ 4 and 5.

³ Anton Scholz, *Comm. zum Buche des Propheten Hosea*, 1882, 65, 77.

⁴ Driver, *Sermons*, pp. 220, 224.

⁵ Olof Molin, Om prepositionen לִּי i *Bibelhebreiskan* (Upsala, 1893), p. 53.

149), but also of later scholars. It is true Zerweck¹ says only, like Gesenius in his *Thesaurus* (p. 021): "Here also (Hos. vi. 6) the close connection is seen between כֵּן and the negative." But Wellhausen² translates "for love I will have *and not* sacrifice, knowledge of God and no burnt offering"; and Guthe in Kautzsch's *Altes Testament*, renders 6b, "in knowledge of God *and not* in burnt sacrifice." Again, Oettli³ "holds the comparative sense to be excluded in this passage, although the variation in the expression of the negative is certainly not made without intention; for the prophet cannot, immediately after he had roundly denied the value of זֶבַח, mean to say, 'in עֲלֶה, on the other hand, God does take pleasure, though of course still more in דַּעַת אֱלֹהִים.' " Still this rendering is not quite adequate to the form of the words. Taking כֵּן in the comparative sense, the words of 6b would mean, "and in knowledge of God more (even) than in whole-offering." The two parts of the verse, therefore, are not synonymous, but synthetic, and this logical relation of 6a and 6b cannot after all be regarded as excluded (*vide supra*, p. 214). But Nowack⁴ also remarks, "Seeing that כֵּן has undoubtedly a negative sense, as is proved by Psalm lii. 5, and since Hosea presents other passages parallel to this utterance, in which the prophet expresses himself in quite a similar way concerning worship, כֵּן must be taken here in this negative significance." But the appeal to Psalm lii. 5 (*vide supra*, p. 151) provides no indubitable result. Further, it would be possible to deduce the equivalence of לֵא and כֵּן from Hosea vi. 6 only if in 6a and 6b precisely the same emotional activity were

¹ Nath. Zerweck, *Die Hebr. Präp.* כֵּן (Leipzig, 1893), p. 27.

² Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*; Heft 5: *die kleinen Propheten übersetzt mit Noten* (1892), p. 16.

³ Oettli, *Der Cultus bei Amos und Hosea* (Griefswalder Studien, 1895), p. 80.

⁴ Nowack, *Handcommentar zu den kleinen Propheten*, 1897, p. 43, "and in knowledge of God in preference to the burnt-offering."

referred to,—if, that is to say, we had “I take pleasure in love, and not in slaughter-offering, and in love מְעִלִּית (more than in burnt-offerings).” But as the two expressions lie before us in the two parts of the verse, it will still be the safest course to regard the different degrees of rejection, which are expressed in the form of the address, as intentional. This can undergo no change in consequence of any other utterances of Hosea (e.g. v. 6; viii. 13a) which correspond with vi. 6a.

(γ) It has frequently been thought that, on the contrary, the negation in Hosea vi. 6a ought to stand on the same level with the disparagement in 6b. For over against the Peschitta and the Vulgate, which have been quoted above (p. 019), the Targum renders 6a by אֲרִי בְעֵבְרִי אֲרִי קָדְמִי מִפְּדָה. In like manner 6a is rendered in the LXX., *Cod. Vat.*, by ἔλεος θέλω ἢ θυσίαν. Only in *Cod. Alex.* we have καὶ οὐ θυσίαν, as in the Gospel of Matthew ἔλεος θέλω καὶ οὐ θυσίαν is twice offered by the text (ix. 13 and xii. 7).¹ Nevertheless, Flacius² comes to the conclusion, Hosea vi. 6: *Misericordiam volo, non sacrificium pro magis volo misericordiam quam sacrificium.*” In the same way Buxtorf, in his *Thesaurus Grammaticus* (vide p. 017, note ²), p. 553, interprets וְאִי in Proverbs viii. 10 by “et non, i.e. prae vel magis quam. Simile exemplum est Hosea vi. 6.” This assimilation of the two sections 6a and 6b has recently found support from the following exegetes: Wünsche, *Der Prophet Hosea erklärt*, 1868, p. 254, who says: “Jehovah has more pleasure in love, piety, and practical knowledge of God than in slaughter-offering and

¹ Did the reading of *Cod. Alex.* arise from this (Böhl, *Die Alttestamentliche Citate im Neuen Testament*, p. 35)? Eugène Massebieau, *Examen des citations de l'ancien Testament dans l'évangile selon St. Matthieu*, 1885, p. 20, finds a difficulty in the suggestion, because θυσία in Matthew is relatively ἀπαξ εἰρημένον, since it occurs besides only in xii. 7, and because θέλω is by no means a ready substitute for וְאִי.

² *Clavis scripturae sacrae*, vol. 2, s.v. “Comparativus.”

burnt-offering"; Schmoller, *Die Propheten Hosea, Joel und Amos* (in J. P. Lange's *Bibelwerk*, 1872), pp. 63, 70, translates, "in love I have more pleasure than in sacrifice"; Marti, *Jahrbücher für prot. Theol.*, 1880, p. 310 (cf. *supra*, p. 211) gives as his translation of 6a, "I have more pleasure in the manifestation of love than in sacrifice"; T. K. Cheyne, *Hosea, with Notes and Introduction* (The Cambridge Bible), 1884, p. 79, interprets, "and not sacrifice=rather than sacrifice"; Orelli also (*ad loc.*, 1896) understands 6a in accordance with 6b. Nevertheless, according to the considerations advanced on pp. 151-209, this assimilation of 6a to 6b can be regarded even less than the converse procedure, discussed under (β), as one actually consistent with Hebrew diction. For the Hebrew possessed an expression for comparative negation, and Hosea himself makes use of it in 6b. And so it cannot but be an unsafe exposition which reads this comparative negation into 6a also, where the speaker himself has not employed it.

ED. KÖNIG.

(*To be concluded.*)

IS SECOND PETER A GENUINE EPISTLE TO THE CHURCHES OF SAMARIA?

IV.

EXTERNAL ATTESTATION TO 2 PETER.

If it can be shown that the Epistle of Jude is indebted to 2 Peter, this is the earliest and by far the strongest attestation to its genuineness; but this is a very complicated problem, especially because the estimate of the arguments is so often dependent on what each deems probable. That there is a connexion is not doubted; and a strong case can, I think, be made out for the priority of 2 Peter.

If the analysis that has been made of the literary affinities of 2 Peter be correct, some of the imagery which is often

supposed to have been borrowed from Jude is really drawn from the Old Testament or from Enoch. Proverbs, so full of sententious wisdom, was a favourite book, as has been abundantly shown from the second chapter of the Epistle. On the other hand, the imagery of Jude 12, 13 seems to have been suggested by 2 Peter. The first figure, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἀγάπαις ὑμῶν σπιλάδες συνευωχούμενοι can be best accounted for if 2 Peter ii. 13 be its original. Dr. Bigg is of opinion, as is Zahn also, that the reading of 2 Peter should be ἀγάπαις instead of ἀπάταις, and that σπιλάδες in Jude should be given the meaning "spots"; but we shall follow the reading of the modern editors, Westcott and Hort, Weiss, and Nestle, and take σπιλάδες in an equally probable sense. σπίλος (ὁ), a post-classical word, ordinarily means "spot," "stain," but σπίλος (ῆ) also signifies "cliff," "rock," being nearly synonymous with σπιλάς, which may mean a reef more or less submerged (Polyb. i. 37). Any one who has watched the swirl of the current in a summer sea, setting towards some hidden ledge of rock that rises into a headland, the doom of the unwary mariner, must feel the power of Jude's figure for wreckers of the Church. The σπῖλοι . . . ἀπάταις of 2 Peter may well have given rise to the fine figure in σπιλάδες, while the assonance of ἀπάταις would call to mind the ἀγάπαις in which they revelled. By adding ὑμῶν Jude heightens the effect of the intrusion which turned the most sacred fellowship of the Christians into a ghastly carnival. It is difficult to imagine that from the ruins of Jude's imagery a few remnants like σπῖλοι and συνευωχούμενοι are all that would be saved by a writer who, notwithstanding his lack of grace, has a great deal of rugged power and fondness for the picturesque.

In Jude's νεφέλαι ἄνδροι, etc., there is much similarity to Proverbs xxv. 14, which may have induced him to blend two of Peter's figures into one. He takes from the former

the word *ἄνδρες*, which, according to Old Testament usage, is better suited to Peter's first figure than to clouds, and from the other the idea of being "carried along." But Peter is indebted for both his figures to Proverbs. This is almost a demonstration that Jude employed 2 Peter as his source.

The next clause also, *δένδρα φθινοπωρινὰ*, etc., while it has no strict parallel in 2 Peter, seems to be a working up of suggestions traceable to 2 Peter and earlier writings. The metaphor was common enough in the Old Testament, and in non-canonical literature, and through the teaching of Christ it became a commonplace (Wisdom iv. 4, 5, Matt. xii. 33, Luke xiii. 6-9). Jude is writing to Churches long past their spring-tide. The intruders are twice dead. Blossoms had once come to a tree given up as worthless, for the errorists had abandoned their old heathen life in which they had been dead in sin, and had been baptized into the Christian name. But no fruit appeared, though they were left standing till the late autumn, and now they are uprooted, hopelessly apostate. This is precisely the condition into which it is feared that the readers of 2 Peter may come; so the Apostle is emphatic on the necessity of ethical progress and growth in grace (2 Pet. i. 8-10, ii. 20, 21, iii. 18). How could Peter, if he had Jude's figure before him, have embedded his ideas so subtly in his Epistle after stripping them of their striking garb?

The last of Jude's figures also is apparently derived from Enoch (xviii. 15, lxxx. i. 6) by way of 2 Peter. For a writer so full of Enoch's ideas, as we have seen Peter to be, would hardly empty of its picturesqueness Jude's powerful metaphor of the stars plunging from their orbits into the eternal darkness of death, and add such a weak ending to the vigorous imagery of the rest of the verse. This final clause of Peter's is really the conclusion to the hitherto incomplete warning of ii. 4, to which his attention may

have been drawn by Proverbs xxi. 6, which seems to have been in his mind for a previous figure.

2 Peter ii. 11 is often compared unfavourably with Jude 8, 9; but we have seen that Enoch is the source for the description in Peter; and Jude, instead of throwing light on the obscurity of 2 Peter, adds a distinctly new thought by changing *βλάσφημον κρίσιν*, "a railing accusation," into *κρίσιν βλασφημίας*, "a charge of blasphemy" (see Field, *Ot. Norvic*, and Bigg, *in loc.*).

The doxology of Jude contains, in v. 24, words and ideas which are most naturally regarded as a working over of figures from 2 Peter i. 10, 11 with Pauline material, *ἀπταίστους* being suggestive of *οὐ μὴ πταίσῃτε ποτε*, while the next clause, though perhaps best explained from 1 Peter iv. 13, also sets forth the same thought as the "abundant entrance" of 2 Peter i. 11 (cf. 2 Pet. iii. 14).

Apart from the foregoing formal similarities there are two internal evidences of the later date of Jude in the subject-matter: (1) The doctrine of the Parousia so prominent in 2 Peter has fallen into the background. 2 Peter, abounding in Old Testament conceptions and echoing the teaching of Jesus, bears witness to the same suspicious impatience of Christ's second coming as was a part of the environment in the midst of which the framework of the synoptic Gospels took its shape. Both Gospels and Epistle are heightened by the apocalyptic symbolism of judgment, like the forest coloured after an early frost. Jude, on the other hand, freer from the apocalyptic imagery, resembles the later Epistles of Paul. If it is safe to take the progress in spiritualizing the conception of the Parousia as a criterion of date, Jude, along with the later Pauline Epistles, lies between the earlier stage of the Synoptics and 2 Peter, and the final development in the Gospel according to John.

(2) There are signs of a wider apostasy in Jude than in 2 Peter. In the latter the false teachers rather than the

readers are chiefly in mind, and they are still to come. The former is face to face with a serious declension from the faith (3, 5-7, 20-23). There are two classes among his readers, doubters on the verge of apostasy, typified by the Israelites in the desert; and those who in addition are guilty of gross sins of the flesh. The latter are more radical in their defection; indeed they are almost as far gone as the leaders in error. So as Jude begins in verses 3, 4 to speak of the necessity for serious struggle if the invaders are not to have their way and destroy the faith, and to detail the judgment long ago denounced upon them, the awful danger to his readers of immediate apostasy occurs to him, and he goes off at the thought to give them warning in the examples of 5-7. Then he resumes the description of the intruders in v. 8, but does not finally complete v. 4, by stating what the judgment long ago foretold was, till v. 14, when we see that it is found in Enoch. It is then taken up and finished in v. 18, where in the words of 2 Peter iii. 3 he describes the phenomenon, the foretelling of which was evidently an apostolic commonplace due to the teaching of our Lord. Verses 3, 20-23 show imminent danger of the wreck of an established Church. Verses 11, 12, 16 imply a revolt against constituted authority, and complaint of the rigour of Christian discipline. Like the Cain of tradition they are wilful and irreverent, scoffing at the idea of judgment either in this world or in the world to come. Like Korah they rebel against government, of which there is not a trace in 2 Peter except the Apostles, who still have some degree of tenure on their congregations (2 Pet. i. 11-15).

Jude is manifestly under such direct obligations to Enoch, the Assumption of Moses, and the Epistles of Paul, that it would be only natural for him to put himself in the debt of other apostolic writers; and if the author of 2 Peter was one, verses 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 17, 18 find their explanation as

being dependent on 2 Peter ii. 1, 4-6, 11, 12, iii. 2, 3. In this case the object of Jude is not to recall 2 Peter, but to impress upon his readers the flagrancy of a sin which had been denounced by Enoch and the Apostles of the Lord. He describes the intruders in the words of 2 Peter because they are, if not the lineal descendants, at least closely related to the errorists there warned against. Sufficient time must have elapsed since the writing of 2 Peter to allow for the influence of the later letters of the Apostle Paul.

In view of the existence of a pre-Christian Jewish gnosis, it would be rash to deny that in Jude we find the faint outlines of later sects, though probably little stress should be laid on the examples of Cain and Korah, who became heroes of schools of Gnostics of a type somewhat similar to the errorists of Jude. We shall not be far wrong in putting Jude at the transition period when Gnosticism was beginning to shape from cliques within Christianity into independent schools or sects outside the Church, before the great persecutions of the closing decades of the first century broke out. The location of the Churches to which it was written may be sought in Syria or in the Hellenized cities of north-eastern Palestine, mixed Jewish and Gentile communities, which would be thoroughly acquainted with the writings of Paul. Hither antinomian Gnosticism may have come from Samaria to form a new home for itself, as it may have gone also through Cæsarea to Asia Minor, and returned to Egypt laden with Christian transformations. The Churches were probably acquainted with 2 Peter, which had been written to combat the beginnings in Samaria of the same heresy that had now spread to the congenial soil of Syria.

It is impossible to determine the place from which it was written. We may perhaps infer from 1 Corinthians ix. 5, that Jude was an evangelist, and if so it is plain that he rejoiced in the scenery through which he travelled. He

had grown familiar with the wreck of the storm, the damaged orchard, the break of the wave on a hidden reef, and the wash up a filthy beach near some great city; or on his journey at night as he guided himself by the stars, he would see in the meteor shooting across the firmament an image of fleeting errors for which the blackness of darkness is reserved.

The Apocalypse of Peter. The verbal resemblances between this fragment and 2 Peter are so indisputable that either the one borrows from the other, or both are from the same school.¹ That the Apocalypse is indebted to our Epistle is evident for the following reasons: (1) The Apocalypse is full of verbal reminiscences of the New Testament and of the language and ideas of the Græco-Orphic Hades literature, perhaps even of Virgil. 2 Peter is Hebraic in tone, is saturated with Old Testament conceptions, and is peculiarly free from direct acquaintance with the writings of the New Testament. (2) The language of the Apocalypse is simple; that of 2 Peter is rugged, often almost uncouth; but the former is loose and inaccurate; whereas the latter is intense, well-compacted and true to the situation. In the Apocalypse, e.g., the revelation seems to have been given after the Resurrection, and yet the scene is placed on the Mount of Transfiguration, and is shared in by "the Twelve." In 2 Peter the description of the Transfiguration is accurate in detail, and apparently independent of the Gospels. "The Twelve" are never mentioned, only "your apostles." (3) The interest of the Apocalypse is spectacular; in 2 Peter we feel the grip of a strong moral personality who has withal the evangelic note of redemption. (4) Corroborative evidence may perhaps be gathered from the use of the *Secrets of Enoch*, a book probably of Alexandrian origin and dating from the first half of the first century.

¹ See Chase's Article on 2 Peter in *Hastings' Dict. B.*, or Dr. Bigg's *Commentary* for details.

The arrangement of the spheres and the imagery of Paradise and Hell in the *Apoc. Petri*, together with some similarities in detail, seems to show that its author was acquainted with the "Secrets" (cf. *Apoc. Pet.* 5, 6, 8, 15, 17, 18 with Slav. Enoch 8, 9, 10). There are also unmistakable references to *Ethiopic Enoch*. Now if, as some hold, 2 Peter originated in Egypt, and is indebted to the *Apoc. Petri*, how are we to account for his being so alien in thought to the *Secrets of Enoch*? On the other hand, the similarities of the *Apoc. Petri* to both 2 Peter and the *Secrets of Enoch* will be explained if it is subsequent to these two independent writings. 2 Peter has so much of the apocalyptic element in its composition, that it would very naturally serve as an apostolic source from which later writers on this theme might draw.

If it can be shown that 2 Peter was prior to Jude and to the *Apoc. Petri* much greater weight is added to the probability that the scattered words and phrases of 1 Clement, suggestive of 2 Peter, are due to the acquaintance of Clement with our Epistle (*Clem.* 7. 5, 6; 9. 2, 4; 35. 5, etc.). A similar judgment will hold for Hermas. These, added to the minor coincidences of Justin, Irenaeus, and Hippolytus, insufficient in themselves perhaps, but striking when considered in the light of the foregoing, help to justify Zahn's opinion that "from 90 to 100 A.D., 2 Peter was read in the service of the Roman Church, and privately by Roman Christians; but gradually owing to the strangeness of its contents it became excluded from the canon of the Western Church."

There is good reason for holding that 2 Peter circulated in Alexandria early in the second century, for in Barnabas (ch. 15) the connexion of the words ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα παρ' αὐτῷ χίλια ἔτη favours their being a reminiscence of 2 Peter iii. 10-14, far more than the similar expressions in Justin and Irenaeus, where they may be quoted as a Jewish com-

monplace. This view is strengthened by the fact that the Epistle is found in both the Bohairic and Sahidic versions; and that the great Alexandrians, Clement and Origen, were acquainted with it. But in the judgment of these philosophical scholars its apocalyptic imagery would tend to cast suspicion on its apostolic authorship as lending support to Chiliastic dreams. Also the remarkable differences in language between this Epistle and 1 Peter would not escape detection in that critical school.

2 Peter seems to have circulated also in Asia Minor and Syria though it is impossible to say how early. Firmilian of Caesarea in Cappadocia (250 *flor.*) and Methodius of Olympus in Syria († 311) quote it, the latter against the Chiliasts. It may be that Theophilus of Antioch (180) has reminiscences in two passages (*Ad Autolyicum* ii. 9, 13). Apart from this however Syria gives no testimony to 2 Peter. Probably, as in Rome and Alexandria, an earlier recognition yielded to critical doubts, for it does not appear in the Peshitto version; nor is it known to the scholars of Antioch.

If our Epistle was written to the Churches of Samaria we get the key to much of its canonical fortune. Samaria soon dropped out of Christian history. In the war between the Romans and the Jews it espoused the cause of the former, by whom it was so completely garrisoned that it became practically pagan, and the continuity of Church life between earlier and later times was broken. Hence the earlier letters of Peter and that of Paul (2 Pet. iii. 15) have disappeared. The few certain remains of the Palestinian literature that survive, are the result not of the first occupation of the country by the Gospel but of subsequent conversion.

But there is another reason for its sparse recognition, as well as for its reappearance in certain localities. Two great principles were at work in the formation of the canon and

the retention of certain writings. Those letters were kept which were most for edification, and the correspondence of large and central Churches survived when that to remoter districts easily dropped out of use. A letter such as 2 Peter is not of sufficient range to serve greatly in public reading in Christian Churches, and would naturally be preserved only in those countries where similar doctrines to those against which it was a warning had worked their way. Egypt and Asia Minor became the chief centres of anti-nomian Gnosticism, and these are, possibly with Rome also, the regions in which the earliest traces of 2 Peter actually occur. Though it is doubtful whether quotations from the Epistle are to be found in the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions, the immense development at Rome of a literature in which Peter attacks Simon Magus as the father of heresy, might be more satisfactorily accounted for if there had been a revival of Simonianism in Samaria, which had made it necessary for Peter to keep in touch with the Churches of that region. If 2 Peter was the most important letter of this correspondence, we can understand how the early traces of it in Rome may have been reminiscences of a time when the Apostle's interest in Samaria would be well known.

We may thus discover the secret of the comparatively inglorious canonical record of 2 Peter, even as compared with Jude, in the obscurity of the Churches to which it was written, the narrow scope of its contents, the apocalyptic element, the fortunes of war, and the strange dissimilarity in style and thought to the later and well attested "first" Epistle of Peter.

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THE SECOND EPISTLE OF ST. JOHN.

IN considering the problem of the Second Epistle of St. John we shall make the word *ἐκλεκτῇ* (verse 1) our starting-point.

Assuming, as we fairly may, that *ἐκλεκτῆς* in the closing verse is used in the same sense as in verse 1, we observe that the occurrence of this word at the beginning and at the end of 2 John finds a close parallel in 1 Peter, in which *ἐκλεκτοῖς* is used at the beginning, *συνεκλεκτῇ* at the end. The parallel is seen to be still closer when it is observed that the word occurs in both Epistles in the *salutations*. That the *συν* in *συνεκλεκτῇ* in 1 Peter is to be taken as referring to *ἐκλεκτοῖς* will appear only natural if we suppose that the closing salutation was composed with conscious reference to that with which the Epistle had opened.¹ When we consider the importance of the communication which the Apostle had to make, and that it was destined to be circulated over a large area, careful attention to *form*, especially at the beginning and at the end, is seen to be natural under the circumstances. Even a certain elaborateness of style and phrase is *a priori* probable.² To hold that the closing salutation of 1 Peter was written with reference to the opening greeting involves little more than to suppose that it was written, not, as in a private letter, with unstudied spontaneity, but consciously and with deliberation. If then the *συν* in *συνεκλεκτῇ* refers to *ἐκλεκτοῖς*, the parallel with 2 John is seen to be complete.³

It follows that the problem before us is not so much

¹ An upward movement of the eyes to the top of the scroll would suffice.

² How far the Apostle would be responsible for this himself we need not inquire.

³ So Lightfoot, *Clement of Rome*, ii. 491, quoted by Bigg, *St. Peter and St. Jude*, p. 77.

what is the meaning of ἐκλεκτῇ in 2 John i. as why did St. Peter and St. John make use of this particular word?

In determining this question we turn to ἐκλεκτοῖς in 1 Peter i. 1.

Now ἐκλεκτοὶ occurs along with ἅγιοι and ἡγαπημένοι in Colossians iii. 12, and is there¹ explained by Bishop Lightfoot to be a term "transferred from the Old Covenant to the New." That this is also the explanation in 1 Peter i. 1 will be apparent when we consider that both παρεπιδήμοις and διασπορᾶς are adapted from the Old Testament. There can be no question that the primary associations of ἐκλεκτοῖς were Jewish. But if ἡ...συνεκλεκτή refers to ἐκλεκτοῖς, as has been shown to be probably the case, then the associations of ἡ...συνεκλεκτή will also be Jewish, much more so those of ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή. For to say that by "*Babylon*" was signified "*Rome*" does not alter the fact that the associations of Babylon were primarily *Jewish*, and that in the case of any one familiar enough with the Jewish Scriptures to understand the opening words of the Epistle, the mention of Babylon could hardly fail to suggest the thought of the Captivity. We conclude that the atmosphere of the closing salutation, as of the opening, is Jewish.

In answering therefore the question who is intended by "the woman" implied in ἡ συνεκλεκτή, we turn naturally to the Old Testament.

Now it is characteristic of the prophets that while they constantly address the inhabitants of Jerusalem in the plural number, they hardly less frequently speak of Jerusalem under the figure of a *woman*. We find this in Isaiah (liv. lv.), Jeremiah (iv. 30—end, vi. 2, vii. 29, xiv. 17, xxi. 13, xxii. 20, etc.), and Ezekiel (xvi. and xxiii.); also in Hosea

¹ See the note in his *Commentary on the Colossians*, 8th ed. p. 219. Cf. also the note on ἐκλεκτῇ in the letter of Ignatius to the Trallians (Lightfoot, *Ignatius and Polycarp*, vol. ii. p. 151).

(ch. ii.), Micah (iv. 8, 10, 13), Zephaniah (iii. 1, 10, 14) and Zechariah (ii. 7, 10, ix. 9). Even Amos,¹ the herdsman of Tekoa, uses it (v. 1). The figure was clearly part of what may be described as the common stock of prophetic imagery. Nor is it confined to the Canonical Books. We meet with it in the book of Baruch (see chaps. iv. and v.).

Reserving for the moment a more thorough investigation of the treatment of this figure in the prophetic writings, we must draw attention to the fact that when the term *ἐκλεκτοὶ* was applied by St. Peter to Christians, it was applied to people who were actually members of a number of separate communities. Not that he is to be supposed as thinking of his readers in this way, but that it was none the less the fact that in one important respect the circumstances of the Jewish nation had not been reproduced in the case of Christianity. What is meant is that it was no longer possible to gather up individual Christians into a collective whole and address them as an individual without including *all* Christians in every place. In the case before us St. Peter could not (had he desired to do so) have made use of the figure of a woman in addressing the Christians to whom he was writing. But there was nothing to prevent his transferring the figure to a *particular community* of Christians. This transference would be helped partly by the fact that other communities besides the Jewish were spoken of under the figure of a woman, e.g. Samaria and Sodom (Ezek. xvi. and xxiii.), Egypt (Jer. xli. 44); partly too, in the case before us, by the designation of the city from which he wrote as "*Babylon*." To speak of a woman in Babylon was to speak in language which at once recalled such expressions as "the captive daughter of Zion." No Jewish Christian would find difficulty in understanding why St. Peter had chosen such an expression, for was it not true that the relation of the chosen people to Babylon was

¹ We should perhaps not have expected a *herdsman* to use the figure.

only too faithfully reproduced in the relation of a Christian Church to a heathen city?

From 1 Peter we pass again to 2 John. And we begin by noting with regard to ἐκλεκτῇ (1) that the absence of the article is paralleled by its omission before ἐκλεκτοῖς in 1 Peter i. 1, (2) the feminine termination by συνεκλεκτῇ in 1 Peter v. 13. We observe also that ἐκλεκτῇ by itself would be perfectly good Greek for "To an elect woman."

Leaving ἐκλεκτῇ we ask what is the meaning of κυρία? The chief point is that κυρία is not a substantive but an *epithet*. The use of κύριος as an epithet is common not only in the Old Testament but in profane Greek. Thus we find it applied (with the article) as a title to certain gods and goddesses (e.g. ὁ κύριος to ten gods, e.g. once to Kronos, ten times to Hermes, etc.; ἡ κυρία to five goddesses, e.g. three times to Artemis, thirty-two to Isis, etc., *C.I.G.* Index iii.). We also find it (without the article) in an inscription: *Α(υγοῦστας)*¹ κυρίας *Αγριπεῖνας*, *C.I.G.* 7061, and (as was shown by Professor Rendel Harris in the *EXPOSITOR* for March, 1901) in more than one place in the Oxyrhyncus papyri, e.g. κυρία μου *Σερηνία* and κυρίῳ μου *νιῶ* (quoted on page 197). The use of κύριε and κυρία in the vocative is also obviously adjectival. We reserve for a moment the question as to the precise shade of meaning to be given to κυρία and κυρία in 2 John. What we wish to emphasize is that κυρία can quite well be taken as an epithet. Can ἐκλεκτῇ κυρία, taken as² two epithets, stand? Unquestionably. The meaning will be "To an elect woman³ who is κυρία." Something like this is found in an inscription (*C.I.G.* 3858) in which one Nicias is described as a priest *Σεβαστῆς Εὐβουσίας*. Here Εὐβουσίας (an epithet

¹ The letters within the brackets are conjectural.

² Or we may say that ἐκλεκτῇ is practically equivalent to a substantive, and is qualified by κυρία.

³ We purposely avoid the rendering "lady."

of Demeter) corresponds to ἐκλεκτῇ, Σεβαστῆς¹ to κυρία. The instances are not quite parallel, inasmuch as Εὐβουσίας is the epithet of a particular individual, ἐκλεκτῇ is a generic epithet. But the collocation is instructive, since in each case we have a distinctive title joined with a general title.

We pass on to consider the words καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῆς.

Now it has been felt by some that the presence of these words is an indication that the writer of 2 John was addressing a literal individual. The rendering "lady" has helped in the same direction. With a western mind the insertion of "and to her children" does certainly carry weight. It is to be remembered however that for anything we know to the contrary the readers of this Epistle were as familiar with the Jewish Scriptures as we have seen reason to² believe the readers of 1 Peter to have been. Assuming that this was the case, we proceed to draw attention to the fact that in the prophets the metaphor of a woman referred to above is treated with considerable elasticity. We may distinguish two groups of passages. In one group the woman is thought of as a *daughter* (LXX., θυγάτηρ as in Zechariah ii. 7, 10, etc.). In the other group the woman appears as a *mother with her children*. The two passages which the present writer has studied are Isaiah liv., lv., and Baruch iv., v.; in both cases the figure underlies the whole passage. Now a close scrutiny of the language in these two passages makes it evident that three varieties of expression are used according to the point of view of the writers. (1) Usually they speak of a mother *and* her children. But (2) they sometimes speak of the *mother only*, as in Isaiah lv. 5. And (3) they sometimes speak of the *children only*. See, for example, Isaiah liv. 13,

¹ σεβαστὴς was also applied to mortals, e.g. the wife of Septimius Severus is styled σεβαστῇ.

² Cf. fact that there are quotations in 1 Peter from eight chapters of Isaiah; also from Hosea, Jeremiah, Daniel, etc. (See the list in W. and H., one vol. edition, p. 607).

καὶ πάντας τοὺς υἱοὺς σου διδασκούς Θεοῦ, καὶ ἐν πολλῇ εἰρήνῃ τὰ τέκνα σου. In Baruch iv. 25 we have a verse in which varieties (2) and (3) occur in close proximity. The words are: Τέκνα μακροθυμήσατε τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπελθούσαν ὑμῖν ὀργήν, κατεδίωξέ σε ὁ ἐχθρὸς, καὶ ὄψει, etc. Now in regard to these varieties it is clear that while the figure *in its completeness* includes both mother and children, yet that since the mother implies the children and the children the mother *one or other* of the parts of the figure may be used. One more point must be noticed in the two passages before us, viz. that the figure is frequently dropped and then resumed. In Isaiah lv. the figure appears only in the 5th and in the 11th verse (Ἔθνη δὲ οὐκ οἶδασί σε . . . and εὐδοῶσω τὰς ὁδοὺς σου). In the last verse of chapter liv. the figure is dropped at the end of the verse, and we read: καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθέ μοι δίκαιοι. Contrast this with the opening words of the verse, πᾶν σκευὸς σκευαστὸν ἐπὶ σὲ . . .¹

Turning to the Second Epistle of St. John we find (1) that the opening salutation is sent to a woman and her children, and that both the mother and the children are referred to in the 4th verse. (2) That in the 5th and 13th verses the *woman only* is brought before us. (3) That in the 13th verse a greeting is sent from the *children only* of the elect sister.² Thus we find in 2 John phenomena which correspond with those which we have observed in Isaiah and in Baruch.

We also observe that from verses 5 (last sentence) -12, i.e. in the main part of the Epistle, the plural is used throughout, *the figure entirely disappearing*. In regard to this it is worth noting that where the writer uses the first person plural in verses 5 and 6 (ἀγαπῶμεν, περιπατῶμεν) he is identifying himself with those whom he is addressing. This is clear from the transition to the second person plural which immediately follows in verse 6 (καθὼς ἡκούσατε ἀπ'

¹ Cf. also Baruch iv. 6, 7.

² On τῆς ἀδελφῆς see below.

ἀρχῆς ἵνα ἐν αὐτῇ περιπατῇτε), and finds an exact parallel in the similar use of the *first* person plural in the First Epistle, e.g. iii. 11 (ὅτι αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ἀγγελία ἣν ἠκούσατε ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἵνα ἀγαπῶμεν ἀλλήλους) followed by the *second* person (μὴ θαναμάζετε) in verse 13, and again by the *first* person in verse 14.

Before drawing a conclusion we may linger a moment on the 13th verse of the Epistle. It has been noticed as strange that the closing salutation contains no greeting to the children of verse 1, and no greeting *from* the sister. The words are, 'Ἀσπάζεται σε τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἀδελφῆς σου τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς. With the passages in the prophets before us the difficulty vanishes. The *σε* implies the children, the τέκνα (of the sister) imply their mother. If it be asked why St. John should not have written 'Ἀσπάζεται τὰ τέκνα σου ἡ ἀδελφή, etc., the answer is that he might have done so, but that since the mother had been addressed in the 4th and 5th verses it was more natural to select the mother for greeting in the 13th also. This being so, Baruch iv. 32 is suggestive, where the words are Δείλαιαι αἱ πόλεις αἷς ἐδούλευσαν τὰ τέκνα σου, δείλαια ἡ δεξαμένη τοὺς υἱοὺς σου. Here the one city (i.e. Babylon) is described as a woman who receives the children of the other (Jerusalem). We submit that in 2 John 13 the choice of the expression τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἀδελφῆς, rather than ἡ ἀδελφή, is merely a matter of style.

We have already implied that we regard "the sister" also as a woman representing a Church. Nor need there be any difficulty about this view if we remember that the figure, as used by the prophets, was not limited to Jerusalem. The instances quoted above from Ezekiel are specially instructive, viz. chapter xvi., where *Samaria* and *Sodom* are spoken of as sisters (LXX., ἀδελφαί) of *Jerusalem* (vv. 46 and 55), and chapter xxiii., where Jerusalem and Samaria appear as sisters (v. 4, where again ἀδελφαί is the word).

From all these correspondences with the prophetic writ-

ings we draw the conclusion (which was suggested by our study of ἡ . . . συνεκλεκτῇ) that in 2 John as in 1 Peter the prophetic figure of a woman to represent a community has been transferred to a Christian Church.

We may now decide the precise shade of meaning to be given to *κυρία* and *κυρία*. In view of the conclusion at which we have just arrived, we do not hesitate to take this word as a title of *dignity*. With regard to the instances adduced from the papyri in the article referred to above, we submit that, however valuable they are as illustrating the adjectival use of the word *κύριος* in letters, they cannot be regarded as proving that it was impossible for the word to be used formally, i.e. as a title of dignity. We might with equal justice argue that, because "sir" and "my lady" are *sometimes* used with us in an informal and half playful sense, they can therefore *never* be used as formal titles. To take the word as a title expressing *respect* is in harmony (1) with the use of *κύριος* and *κυρία* (with the article) applied to gods and goddesses; (2) with the use of *κύριε* in such passages as John xii. 21, xvi. 30; (3) with the frequent use of *κυρία* in the Shepherd of Hermas (the *γυνή* to whom it is used by Hermas is *πρεσβύτις*); (4) with the inscription quoted above, with which may be compared the later use of *Δόμνα* as a title, e.g., of the wife of Septimius Severus, who is styled *Τουλία Δόμνα Σεβαστή* (cf. also 1 Pet. iii. 6, *κύριον αὐτὸν καλοῦσα*, and the passage from Epictetus quoted in Grimm's Lexicon). It is not so easy to fix upon a *translation* of *κυρία*; neither "respected" nor "esteemed" really represents the meaning adequately, though both renderings come near the sense.

If the conclusion at which we have arrived be the correct one, it would seem that the truest description of 2 John is to call it a *Prophetic Epistle*, i.e. the (deliberately thought out and carefully composed ¹) utterance of one who realized

¹ The Epistles to the Seven Churches also bear obvious marks of care in the composition.

that he was a successor of the prophets of the Old Covenant, and who framed his message after their manner. Nor will this seem improbable when we consider the resemblance which the messages conveyed in the Epistles to the Seven Churches bear to many of the prophetic utterances. Still less improbable will it seem when we consider that the very circumstances of the diffusion of Christianity gave a new importance to the *Epistle* as a means of conveying the truth of God.

In Jeremiah¹ we have a Prophetic Epistle written to the exiles in Babylon. In 1 Peter we have a Prophetic Epistle written to "sojourners of the dispersion." And we submit that the same is true of the Second Epistle of St. John also, and that, as in the Apocalypse so in the Epistle, the voice is the voice of a Prophet.

H. J. GIBBINS.

NOTES ON THE TEXT OF THE PSALMS.

69. 11. אֲבָכָה; read אֲדָכָה (which is a less change than אֲעָנָה). This appears to have been the reading of the Syr. as in 10. 10.

69. 21. וְאִנְשָׁה וְאִקְדָּה; read וְאִנְשָׁה הִיא קִדָּה. This reading would favour the hypothesis that the Psalm is Jeremiah's [see the *Academy*, vol. i. p. 256].

69. 33. Read the verbs as imperatives.

71. 7. כְּמוֹתָ; read כְּמוֹ מִתְּ as in 31. 13, which Psalm is closely connected with 71.

עֵן; cf. Leviticus 6. 3, כִּדּוֹ בָד, though there we should probably read מִדּוֹ; or read עֵן as in 18. 18, אִיבִי עֵן, which would remove the difficulty.

71. 20. תְּהוֹמוֹת; read תַּחְתִּיּוֹת [so Olshausen, Wellhausen, Duhm].

¹ Ch. xxix.

71. 21. תרב גדלתי; read גבלתי, cf. 1 Chronicles 4. 10. רב is used with גבול (Amos 6. 2), though הרחיב is more common. This would agree well with תסב which follows. Cf. the common phrase גבול סביב.

71. 22. אמתך; read ארממך. The Syr. added אומרה to אמתך.

72. 3. Cf. Isaiah 60. 17.

72. 6. זרויף; perhaps ירעפו as 65. 13.

72. 8. וירד; the optative seems to be dependent on the imperative of v. 1.

73. 1. לישראל אלהים; perhaps ליראי אלהים as in Ecclesiastes 8. 12.

73. 8. ימיקו; read יקומו.

In this Psalm the solution is Faith, as in Job.

74. 5. Can there be any reference to such passages as Isaiah 14. 8?

77. 11. May it not be, 'My sickness or weakness (Isa. 14. 10) does not change the right hand of the most High'? It is not impossible that the original reading may have been, החולות, as the LXX has ἡξάμην: 'Does my weakness make any change in the power of God?' . . . There is, obviously a contrast, but the *piel* חלתי is rather 'my-making weak' than 'my being weak.' Perhaps therefore, we should point the word as *gal* or *pu'al*.

78. 12. Read אבותינו.

78. 31. במשמניהם; read במשניהם or במשקניהם,

78. 48. For ברד read דבר as Habakkuk 3. 5. Cf. Exodus, 9. 3 ff. ברד comes from v. 47.

78. 63. חוללו; perhaps חוללו. Cf. Judges 21. 19 ff.; Jeremiah 31. 13; 1 Samuel 18. 6, LXX.

78. 65. מתרונן; cf. Proverbs 29. 6, or read מתרוקם as Isaiah 33. 10 (ארומם).

78. 69. רמים as participle is found only in connexion with הרים, as Deuteronomy 12. 2; Isaiah 2. 14. For- כמו רמים read במרומים as Job 16. 19. So Hitzig.

79. 2. עבדיך occurs here for the first time in Psalms.

80. 7. מדרן as Jeremiah 15. 10, or read מנדר as Psalm 44. 14, 15.

80. 16. כנה; LXX. perhaps read כוננה. Read הכן imperative *hiph.* of כן.

80. 19. סוג in *niph.* is always followed by אחרי or אחריי except 78. 57. Here נסוג may be first plural imperfect *niph.*

81. 6. שפת לא ידעתי אשמע; שפה with שמע, etc., does not mean to 'hear words without understanding their meaning,' but to hear *with* understanding (Gen. 11. 7; Ezek. 3. 6; Deut. 28. 49, etc.). שפה must therefore be taken in a figurative sense as Isaiah 19. 18; Zephaniah 3. 9 [as equivalent to *Cultus*]. God heard in Egypt a language He knew not. For use of ידע cf. 101. 4; 138. 6; Hosea 8. 4; Amos 3. 2, etc. The subject is 'God,' not 'Israel.' The clause is connected, not with what goes before, but with what follows. The LXX. not perceiving this change, the person (ἑαυτοῦ ἤκουσεν).

בצאתי על ארץ מצרים as Genesis 41. 45 (of Joseph). The LXX. and Syr. cut the knot by translating על, 'from.' The subject, however, must be 'God.' We might read בצאתי, though that would make the ending of the stanza very abrupt.

81. 11. פה with רחב (1 Sam. 2. 1).

81. 17. יאכיל was probably written originally אוכיל as in Hosea 11. 4, the unusual form leading to a transposition of letters.

82. 1. קהל רב = עדת אל may = cf. 36. 7; 80. 11.

בקרב אלהים; cf. Ezekiel 28. 2.

82. 7. כאחד השרים תפלו; perhaps, 'as ye, O kings, cast down your own ministers.'

83. 6. לב אחד = לב יחדו; cf. 86. 11.

83. 19. שמך יהוה) שמוך; it comes from v. 17.

84. 3. ירננו אל אל חי; רנן in the *pīel* is always used of joy. It does not take אל. Read יערנו as 42. 2.

84. 4. Either the altars are in ruins (which does not suit the rest of the Psalm) or 'altars' stands for the sacred precincts generally (a use for which there is no authority), or נם is comparative, 'My soul longeth for thine altars, as a bird to return to its nest.' Cf. Jeremiah 51. 49 (Noldius), אף might be read for את.

84. 6. The 'highways' are as much the creation of faith as the 'fountains' of v. 7.

84. 10. מננו is rather subject than object.

84. 12. שמש, 'sun,' is not found in any of the old versions in Walton [Baethgen, 'battlement' after Targum].

85. 9. ואל ישובו לכסלה; Mr. Henry Bradley [32. 8 above], May 27, 1870, proposes to read ואל ישרי לב סלה.

85. 14. וישם; read וישע, 'and salvation.'

86. 2. חסיד אני, 'sum pius,' Aeneid i. 389 (378).

86. 14. Cf. 54. 5. זרים is preferable to זרים. Cf. Isaiah 13. 11.

87. 1. For שיר read עיר.

87. 5. עליו; Syr. omits; read עולם.

88. 6. חפשי perhaps = חפשתי, 'my freedom,' the only freedom I look for.

89. Note the frequent occurrence of אמת and אמונה, and the ending ון—.

89. 20. עז; read עזי as 86. 16.

89. 51. שאני בחיקי; not as in Numbers 11. 12, Isaiah 40. 11, but in connexion with חרפה as in 79. 12, Jeremiah 15. 15, etc.

כל רבים עמים is very suspicious from (1) the order of the words, and (2) the combination of כל and רבים, though we do find כל גוים רבים in Ezekiel 31. 6. For רבים read כלמת or זבת. Cf. Ezekiel 34. 29; 36. 6, 15.

90. 6. וחלף; read ופרח as Isaiah 27. 6. Cf. 92. 8.

90. 9. במה הנה; perhaps במה הנה, 'in mourning.' Cf. Job 21. 13; 36. 11; Psalm 78. 33.

91. 3. דבר occurs in v. 6. Point as participle *gal*. Cf. 38. 13.
94. 10. יסר; read either יצר as 38. 14, 15 [so Wellhausen], or יסד as Habakkuk 1. 12.
94. 21. ינודו; read ינורו as 59. 4.
95. 4. מחרקי; read מרחקי as Isaiah 8. 9 [so Baethgen].
101. 1. חסד ומשפט are to be taken quite generally.
102. 4. As the bones of a victim on the altar.
102. 8. אהיה; read אהבה as Isaiah 38. 14; 59. 11. Olshausen אהמה.
102. 18. פנה as in Syriac.
103. 5. עריך; read עניך as Isaiah 58. 10.
103. 11. גבר; perhaps גבה or גדל.
104. 8. Retain the translation of the A.V. Cf. 107. 26.
106. 7. After ימרו supply e.g. אמרי יהודה.
106. 37. This verse is prose; we should expect, e.g.—
ויזבחו לאלילים בניהם ובנותיהם לשרים;
106. 38. Cf. Jeremiah 19. 4, 5.
106. 39. ויזנו; read ויזנחו, used absolutely. זנה is adopted to suit the parallelism.

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*ST. MATTHEW XXVIII. 16-20.*¹

THE Apostolic age appears to have possessed two independent traditions of the events which occurred between the Resurrection and the Pentecost. According to the tradition which is preserved by St. Luke, the Apostles continued at Jerusalem, and the appearances in the Holy City and its neighbourhood culminated at the end of forty days in the final vision of the Ascension. According to St. Matthew, the appearances at Jerusalem were limited to Easter Day; the scene then shifts to Galilee, where the narrative leaves us.

St. Matthew's tradition was probably derived from St. Mark. Though the genuine ending of the Second Gospel has been lost, there are sufficient indications, as we shall see, that it ended nearly as the first Gospel does, carrying the reader into Galilee immediately after the events of the Resurrection Day; so that we may provisionally call this the Marcan tradition. To some extent the Marcan tradition has also the support of the Fourth Gospel, for though St. John detains the Apostles at Jerusalem until the Sunday after Easter, he describes a subsequent meeting between the Lord and certain of the disciples at the sea of Galilee. Lastly, the second century Gospel of Peter, which, like the genuine St. Mark, is broken off by the loss of a leaf, seems to have blended St. Mark's account with St. John's, for its last extant words represent Peter and Andrew as fishing in the sea, and Levi the son of Alphaeus with them. St. Luke

¹ This exposition was read to a gathering of past and present members of the Cambridge Clergy Training School, held at Westcott House, July 7-9, 1902.

therefore stands alone in ignoring the return to Galilee. His trustworthiness is above suspicion, but his opportunities were scarcely equal to those of St. Peter's interpreter. His narrative, however, is not irreconcilable with the Marcan tradition; and in the present state of our knowledge it is reasonable to regard the two accounts as complementary and not mutually exclusive.

Turning now to St. Matthew's story, we observe that it is linked to the preceding narrative by two predictions which foretell a return to Galilee after the Resurrection. On the night before the Passion the Lord had said (xxvi. 32), "After I am raised up, I will go before you into Galilee (*προάξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν*). On the morning of the resurrection day the angel at the tomb bade the woman tell the disciples (xxviii. 7), "He goeth before you into Galilee" (*προάγει ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν*). Both these sentences occur in the corresponding passages of St. Mark, and in precisely the same words. The verb which is common to both is a suggestive one. It is used also by St. Mark in chap. x. 32, where the Lord leads the Twelve on the way to the cross, and in both connexions it reminds us of John x. 4, *ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν πορεύεται καὶ τὰ πρόβατα αὐτοῦ ἀκολουθεῖ*. The Good Shepherd led his flock from Galilee to the cross, and when all was finished, back to the scene of the ministry.

If it may be asked without presumption why the Lord led the Eleven back to Galilee when He purposed to ascend from the Mount of Olives, the answer seems to be that nowhere but in Galilee could a great concourse be gathered together to be witnesses with the Apostles of His resurrection, and to receive His last instructions to the Church. No such assembly could have been held near Jerusalem, unless indeed in the wilderness of Judaea, the wild rolling country between Hebron and the Dead Sea; and even if privacy could have been secured there, it would not have been

possible to bring together in the south so large a number of disciples as were within reach in Galilee. At the Pentecost the disciples who were gathered at Jerusalem in expectation of the promised Paraclete numbered only about one hundred and twenty. In the north the three years' ministry had doubtless borne more fruit.

In Galilee, then, the Lord chose to meet His disciples. He had appointed the place in a previous interview with the Eleven; the words *οὐ ἐτάξατο αὐτοῖς* can mean nothing short of this (cf. 2 Regn. xx. 5, *τοῦ καιροῦ οὐ ἐτάξατο αὐτῷ*), and the express mention of "the Eleven" seems to point to an interview subsequent to the resurrection. There is much to be said for the picturesque suggestion of the late Master of Trinity Hall, that the order was given after the meal on the shore of the lake described by St. John, and that the news of the meeting was carried by St. Peter and St. John—why not also by St. Thomas and Nathanael and the rest?—to the villages round the lake, wherever brethren were to be found. All this presupposes that the occasion was the same as that to which St. Paul refers in 2 Cor. xv. 6, when more than five hundred brethren at one saw the risen Lord. Mr. Latham has argued this point with much ingenuity, and he has made a strong case for the identity of the meetings. The matter does not admit of demonstration, but the probability is great, and I shall venture to assume that he is right.

The day for the meeting (for a day had doubtless been fixed) has come, and the Eleven are at the appointed place, in Galilee, and on the line of hills indicated (*εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν εἰς τὸ ὄρος*, where the *εἰς* limits or further defines the first, as in Mark xi. 1 *εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα εἰς Βηθθαγή*). *Τὸ ὄρος* is not necessarily a particular isolated hill, such as Tabor, or Hattin; rather it is the hill country, whether west or east of the lake, but probably that upon the west shore, which had been the principal scene of Christ's

preaching and prayer, and was in proximity to the towns which He had evangelized. There the Eleven have now taken their stand, and with them there is an eager crowd of Galileans who have left their farms or their merchandise at the call of the Master. How long they waited we do not know; but at length the form of a man was seen crossing the hills and coming towards them, and we can hear the exclamation passing from mouth to mouth, 'Ὁ κύριός ἐστιν —“it is the Lord.” At once the assembly prostrated itself *προσεκύνησαν*, not *ἐγονυπέτησαν*: the *προσκυνητής* falls upon his face and not upon his knees only; the *γονυπετῶν* of the New Testament usually has a favour to ask, the *προσκυνῶν* simply pays homage to his superior. As performed by a great concourse of disciples, this act of homage expressed the consciousness of a relation between the Lord and His followers which was either new or had been but scantily realized before. Perhaps it could not be realized so long as men knew Christ after the flesh; certainly the occasions were rare upon which His disciples prostrated themselves before Him during His ministry, and I remember only one instance in which the Apostles did this as a body, at a moment when the presence of the supernatural came home to them with unusual strength (Matt. xiv. 33). The resurrection naturally deepened immeasurably their sense of awe, and three times during the forty days it is noticed by the Evangelists that prostration was offered to the risen Lord (Matt. xxviii. 9, 17; Luke xxiv. 52)—by the women at the tomb, by the Eleven after the Ascension, and on the occasion which we are now discussing. On the present occasion the prostration could hardly have amounted to an act of worship directed to a Divine person—the majority of the Galilean disciples would not have been prepared for that—but it was at least an acknowledgment of the claims of One who had proved His supernatural character by overcoming death.

Some there were, however, among the crowd who held

aloof from this act of homage, because they were not convinced that the person they saw was indeed the Lord. Οἱ δέ makes an exception to the general statement *ιδόντες αὐτὸν προσεκύνησαν*, while *ἐδίστασαν* does not, I think, imply a doubt of the fact of the resurrection, but rather whether the form they saw was indeed that of the risen Christ. On more than one occasion the risen Lord was not recognized at first. Mary Magdalene supposed Him to be the gardener of Joseph's paradise; to the disciples on the way to Emmaus He appeared "in another form," and seemed to be an ordinary wayfarer; "their eyes," St. Luke says, "were holden that they should not know Him." Yet in both cases He was close at hand. What wonder if, when He was seen at some distance across a stretch of hill-country, some hesitated at first to admit that it was the Lord? *Ἐδίστασαν*, St. Matthew is careful to write, not *ἠπίστησαν*, for doubt of this kind is not unbelief, and may be the precursor of the deepest faith.

But the Lord would not keep them in suspense. He came near and spoke to them. *Προσελθεῖν* is in the Gospels constantly used of approaches to Christ's person: e.g. *προσελθὼν ὁ πειράζων εἶπεν αὐτῷ* (Matt. iv. 3), *προσῆλθαν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ* (v. 1), *λεπρὸς προσελθὼν προσεκύνει αὐτῷ* (viii. 2), *προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ ἡ μήτηρ τῶν υἱῶν Ζεβεδαίου* (xx. 20). Here it is the Lord who approaches to His disciples, coming near to them to remove their doubt, as He came near to the Three on the Mount of Transfiguration, to dispel fear (xvii. 7). They saw Him now close at hand, and it was not a mere vision. For He spake: *ἐλάλησεν λέγων*, the equivalent, as Dalman reminds us,¹ of a phrase common in the Hebrew Bible (לַדְבָר לֵאמֹר), yet perhaps not without a special fitness here, for *λαλεῖν*, like דַּבֵּר, is to speak or talk, to address or accost another rather than to deliver a formal oration. The Lord drew near and spake to them in that

¹ *Words of Jesus*, i. p. 25 f.

half colloquial manner which He had ever used. It was the familiar voice to which these very disciples had listened so often among these very hills; and as His "Mary!" had drawn from the Magdalene the response *Rabboni*, so now the sound of His words must have set at rest the doubts of any who still hesitated.

But if the voice and manner were reassuring, the first words were words of awful majesty. Never before in the history of the world had a human being treading the earth and speaking with man's voice dared to say, "All authority hath been given to Me in heaven and upon earth." The nearest approach to such a claim had been made by the Lord when alone with the Twelve in one or two rare moments of self-revelation, as when He had said *Πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μου* (Matt. xi. 27), or *Ἔδωκα αὐτῇ* (sc. τῇ υἱῇ) *ἐξουσίαν πάσης σαρκός* (John xvii. 2). Here, however, there is a directness and explicitness never reached before; and if I am right in postulating the presence of the five hundred brethren, no such words had ever been spoken to a great concourse of disciples. It was a proclamation *urbi et orbi* of a tremendous fact hitherto hinted only to the inner circle of his friends.

Let us look more closely at the words. It is of *ἐξουσία* that the Lord spake, not of *δύναμις*, of authority rather than power, of right rather than of might. No doubt *ἐξουσία* usually carries with it *δύναμις*; nevertheless the two are separable in idea, and the distinction should be kept in view. *Ἐξουσία* is the right to act which may exist even when no action follows or can follow immediately. It is not necessarily delegated authority, for *ἐξουσία* is used in reference to the supreme authority of God in Acts i. 7, Jude 25, Apoc. xvi. 9. But the verb which goes with *ἐξουσία* here shows that the authority which Christ claims is communicated and not self-constituted. *Ἐδόθη μοι*, "it was given to Me," He says; as He had previously explained, it was His

by the Father's gift—*παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός*. The Son of God is what He is by the communication of the Father's life; the Son of Man has what He has from God. Christ is, as Hooker writes in his scholastic way, "by three degrees a receiver," by eternal generation, by the hypostatic union, by unction. But it is not easy, perhaps it is not safe or right, to endeavour to restrict *ἐδόθη* to any one of these Divine communications. The aorist simply takes us back to an indefinite past, and leaves us there; it may refer to the eternal purpose of God, to the very necessities of the Divine essence, or to the economies of the Incarnation. Two things only stand out clearly—the Lord's authority is His by the Father's gift, and the resurrection gave Him occasion for asserting and exercising it as He had not done before.

It is *πᾶσα ἐξουσία* that He claims, not *πᾶσα ἡ ἐξουσία*, and the distinction is not unimportant. *Πᾶσα ἐξουσία* does not lay stress upon the comprehensiveness of His authority as the sum total of all possible rights and powers, but rather upon its manifoldness; it is authority in all and every one of its many forms and types. During His ministry He had asserted His authority to forgive sins, to cast out unclean spirits, to cleanse the Temple precinct, to lay down His own life and to take it again, even to execute judgment upon the world. But these are all so many particular *ἐξουσίαι*, whereas *πᾶσα ἐξουσία* includes not only these, but all other spheres and acts of authority that can be conceived. All Divine rights are His, to be exercised at His pleasure. And the field in which He may exercise them is no less unlimited than the authority itself. He had been charged with blasphemy when He declared His right to forgive sins on earth; He now declares His right to do what He will, whether on earth or in heaven. *Εν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς*—the words sweep the whole empire of God, and in their flight bound away into regions far

beyond our knowledge. Our Lord anticipates the new relation between the Mediator and the universe which began with the ascension. St. Paul's words are our best comment upon His claim, when he teaches that Christ has been set in the heavenly spheres far above every authority and power and every name that is named, not in this world only but in that which is to come (Eph. i. 20 f.); that He has been made Head over all things to the Church (*ib.* 22 f.); that God granted Him a Name above every name, that in the Name of Jesus (i.e. before the authority of Jesus) every knee should bow of things celestial and terrestrial and subterranean, and every tongue utter the confession, "Jesus Christ is Lord" (Phil. ii. 9 ff.); that it pleased the Father through Him to reconcile all things to Himself, whether things upon the earth or things in the heavens, and that He is the Head of all rule and authority (Col. i. 20, ii. 10). All this the risen but not yet ascended Lord anticipates and proclaims. It has been His by the Father's gift from the beginning, and the resurrection has now placed it in His hands. He is on the eve of His coronation to the lordship of the universe, and no failure or delay can intervene.

Yet there is some strangeness in His interview with these simple brethren gathered on the wild hills of Galilee being opened with so magnificent a proclamation of unlimited authority. We expect some tender words of greeting, some new gift of love, some parable or proverbial teaching, as of old. But there is none of these; only this great proclamation of the vast gift He has received. What does it mean in such surroundings? What connexion has it with the fresh call which immediately follows?

Some good MSS. seek to establish a connexion by inserting a conjunction, but in the choice of the conjunction they are not agreed. While cod. B reads *πορευθέντες οὖν*, cod. D has *πορεύεσθε νῦν*, and some MSS. of the Latin

versions combine the two, *euntes ergo nunc*. Under these circumstances we may perhaps venture to follow cod. N in striking out both *οὖν* and *νῦν*, and reading *πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε*. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that *οὖν*, if it be a gloss, gives a true index to the train of thought. 'Ἐδόθη μοι πᾶσα ἐξουσία is the preamble, *πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε* the commission based upon it. The Lord begins by reciting the fact of His possession of universal authority, in order to supply the strongest possible incentive to a world-wide and age-long mission. It is as if He had said: "Nothing on earth or in heaven can prevent you from carrying out My purpose. No authority which you may require in the prosecution of your task can be wanting to you henceforth. You have an open field and the largest powers, for you go in the Name of One whose word is law in both worlds. Go in the strength of this knowledge, and work." Thus the aim which the Lord has in view is an eminently practical one. Here as always the teaching of Christ, even when it seems most remote from human affairs, translates itself into a call to present duty and an inspiration of vital energy.

"Go and disciple all the Gentile nations" of the world: *πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*. The verb *μαθητεύειν*, in the active sense of "making a disciple," was perhaps a creation of primitive Christianity. Outside this Gospel, it is found only in the Acts of the Apostles, where we read that Paul and Barnabas (xiv. 21) evangelized the city of Derbe, and "made a good number of disciples" (*μαθητεύσαντες ἱκανούς*). St. Matthew has *μαθητεύειν* three times in the same sense. Christians in the earliest days were conscious of having entered by baptism into two new relations; they had become *ἀδελφοί* in relation to each other, and *μαθηταί* in relation to Christ. Of the two, discipleship was the more fundamental; men became brothers by virtue of their acceptance of Christ as their common Teacher. The

brotherhood could be extended only by extending the discipleship. To do this, then, was to be the aim, almost the *raison d'être*, of those who were disciples already; all *μαθηταί* were to become, if I may coin the word, *μαθητευταί*. The aorist *μαθητεύσατε* sums up the whole evangelistic work of the Church in one great effort; as interpreted by the light of history it cannot be distinguished from *μαθητεύερε*, but as foreseen by Christ the work is one. He does not contemplate periods of failure or suspended energy; His foreknowledge foreshortens the long course of events; seen *sub specie aeternitatis* it is but one act. Yet from our point of view the task, as He paints it, is erroneous, for it is nothing less than the bringing of all nations into the Christian society. During a ministry of three years the Lord Himself had gathered out of Galilee, as it seems, but five hundred disciples, and at Jerusalem He had not quite a fourth of that number. How must the hearts of the disciples have sunk within them at the call to disciple in their turn the whole habitable world, even if they thought only of the countries washed by the Mediterranean.

But their new task offered a further difficulty. According to Jewish conceptions, the disciples of a great Rabbi were pupils attached to his person, and learning from his lips. Such had hitherto been the position of the disciples of Jesus. But how was such a discipleship to be extended to the great world? "Disciple all nations" was surely a paradox, an impossibility, as their conceptions of discipleship went. The next words anticipate this difficulty. The discipleship of the world was to rest on a common initiation, a common faith, and a common life of obedience. The first disciples would have done their work if they started a great movement upon these lines: "Go, disciple all the nations, baptizing them into the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to keep all things whatsoever I enjoined upon you."

Βαπτίζοντες αὐτούς—or shall we read, with codd. B D, *βαπτίσαντες αὐτούς*? The difference is slight, but not negligible. If the present participle is read, it will range with the following *διδάσκοντες*, the two describing the long series of baptisms and instructions by which the discipling of the nations would be translated into fact; if the aorist, the work of baptizing is closely connected with discipling, so that *μαθητεύσατε βαπτίσαντες* relates to what is regarded as practically one action, the baptismal rite being the visible counterpart of the preliminary discipling. The documentary evidence for the aorist is weighty, since B and D unite their testimony in its favour. But they stand alone, and it is quite possible that they represent an earlier correction.

But whichever reading we follow, the general sense is the same. The Lord appoints baptism as the universal and only normal mode of admission into the Christian brotherhood. It was by baptism that John had made disciples, and it was thus that in the early days of the Judaean ministry the disciples of Jesus had, evidently with His approval, received believers into their own company (John iii. 23, iv. 1 f.). Of baptisms during the Galilean ministry we hear nothing, and it seems likely that the practice was dropped for the time. Now, however, the Lord formally revives it, making it henceforth the universal badge of discipleship. But it is baptism under quite new conditions that He now ordains—a baptism which is not merely *εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν*, but *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος*.

The words are remarkable in every way. They bring together scattered fragments of Christ's earlier teaching, combining them in a single formula which has no exact parallel in the New Testament. The Father and the Son are correlated in Matthew xi. 27, xxiv. 36; the Holy Spirit is separately mentioned in xii. 32; in the Fourth Gospel

the Holy Spirit is said to proceed from the Father, and to be sent by the Father in the Son's Name, and by the Son from the Father. But nowhere else in the Gospels are the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit co-ordinated as three distinct Persons, while a certain unity is ascribed to them by the preceding *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα*. What is the exact meaning of this last phrase? The name of a person stands for the person himself, especially in his relation to others; and this is true not only in Hebrew and Biblical Greek, but, as Deissmann has shown,¹ a similar use of the phrase occurs occasionally in the papyri and the inscriptions; thus *τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄνομα* is found more than once in the sense of "the King's majesty," whilst the formula *εἰς τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὄνομα* seems to have been used by pagans in connexion with property dedicated to sacred purposes. It is safer perhaps to seek light from the usage of the New Testament itself, and light is not altogether wanting. Israel, St. Paul says, "received baptism into Moses" (1 Cor. x. 2); Christians are "baptized into Christ" (Rom. vi. 3; Gal. iii. 27). A Corinthian Christian could not say *Ἐγὼ εἰμι Παύλου*, for he had not been baptized *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Παύλου*, but, as the Acts let us see, *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα* or *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*. Putting all this together, it seems clear that to be baptized into the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost is to be dedicated to the service of the Three, to become for life the Father's, the Son's, the Holy Spirit's liege, and at the same time to be admitted to fellowship and communion with Them. To become the disciple of Christ the Son of God is to be admitted into the Divine fellowship, to be inscribed with the Divine Name, to be henceforth only God's. Association with the Son is association with the Father and with the Spirit. This is St. Ambrose's explanation of the remarkable fact that the baptisms described in the Acts and Epistles are said to

¹ *Bible Studies*, p. 146 f.

have been administered in the Name of Jesus Christ: "qui unum dixerit, trinitatem signavit; si Christum dicis, et Deum Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum designasti." Perhaps a truer account of the matter would be that the words *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς κτλ.* were not at first regarded in the light of a prescribed formula. Yet St. Ambrose is right when he claims that to admit men into fellowship with Christ is to consecrate them to the service of the Holy Trinity, and this is the essential truth in the form of words which from the second century the Church has invariably used.

But the baptismal formula not only consecrates; it reveals. Or rather, it sums up the whole teaching of Christ respecting the nature of God. The Christian theology is here expressed in a single clause. The One Baptism enshrines and gives permanence to the One Faith. This was rightly grasped by the makers of the early creeds: with wonderful unanimity they constructed them in such wise as to form three paragraphs, corresponding with the Threefold Name which is put upon all Christians in their baptism. Thus the words of baptism form the primary rule of faith; as St. Basil writes (Ep. ii. 22; Migne, xxxii. 552), *δεῖ ἡμᾶς βαπτίζεσθαι μὲν ὡς παρελάβομεν, πιστεύειν δὲ ὡς βαπτιζόμεθα.*

A word may be said in passing as to the genuineness of the baptismal words. Did they come directly from the lips of Christ? or has the Evangelist put into the Lord's mouth words which by his own time had come to be connected with the administration of baptism and which sufficiently represented Christ's general teaching? The second view receives much support from modern scholars, but I trust that we shall hesitate before we accept it. The words as they stand are consistent with the majesty of the whole scene. Nor can I see the least improbability that they were actually spoken by the Lord on this occasion. It was one

of vast importance to the Church when she received from her Head her age-long commission—her “marching orders,” as the great Duke of Wellington is reported to have called it. What more likely than that the Lord would have seized this opportunity of gathering up in the fewest words the substance of all His earlier teaching concerning God, and connecting it for ever with the sacrament of initiation into the Christian brotherhood? Indeed, is it not almost certain that some such form of words was actually used by Christ before He left the earth? Is it possible on any other hypothesis to explain the frequent occurrence of trinitarian language in Christian writings of the apostolic age, and the steady and growing trinitarian belief of the early Church? What reasonable account can be given of the introduction of such a form of words into a document that is generally allowed to be as old as the eighth decade of the first century? Whence came the sudden change of front which led to the substitution of a trinitarian form for the simple words *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, which are *ex hypothesi* original? Questions such as these call for an answer before we set aside the plain and undoubted witness of so early a document as the First Gospel.

But to pass on. The Church is bidden not only to baptize those whom she discipled, but to instruct the baptized. Evangelistic work is implied in *μαθητεύσατε*: the writer of the appendix to St. Mark has rightly glossed St. Matthew's phrase by *πορευθέντες εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα κηρύξατε πάση τῇ κτίσει*. But *διδάσκοντες* has quite another reference, and contemplates the normal teaching of disciples. Christ Himself was at first an Evangelist; He began His ministry in Galilee by proclaiming the Gospel of the kingdom, and the supreme proof of His Divine mission which He offered to the followers of John was this preaching of the Gospel to the humble and downtrodden classes of society (*πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται*). But as soon as men began

to receive His message He entered upon a further work ; He became their Teacher, their Rabbi, as they expressed it. "Ye call me," He reminds the Twelve, "the Teacher"—ὁ διδάσκαλος. Both these works were to be continued by the Church after His departure, and as a matter of fact "He gave some to be Evangelists, and some pastors and teachers." The teaching of the Church, however, differs in one material respect from the teaching of Christ; His was original, hers is derived: "teaching them to keep all that I enjoined upon you."

Ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν. Christ's teaching of His disciples had been wholly practical ; such insight as He permitted them to gain into the secrets of the Divine essence or the constitution of the spiritual world was granted with a view to its influence upon their conduct and manner of life. This, I take it, is the reason why St. Matthew has written *ἐνετειλάμην* rather than *ἐδίδαξα* or *παρέδωκα*. Even in its outward form the Lord's teaching constantly took the shape of *ἐντολαί*—not that He laid down, like the scribes, a series of detached rules affecting small points of behaviour or of ritual, but He lost no opportunity of impressing upon His disciples the eternal principles of moral and spiritual truth, embodied oftentimes in parable or proverb, but at their heart fundamental rules of life. It was this which made the substance of our Lord's teaching, and which He delivered to the Church, to be handed on by her as a sacred trust throughout her generations. In His perfect foresight the Lord knew that His words could never be out of date, but would adapt themselves to the needs of every age until He came again. Experience has proved this to be so hitherto, and the twentieth century is not likely to be an exception. It is delightful to watch the fresh interest with which men are now returning to the Sermon on the Mount and other sayings of Christ to find in them guidance in the complicated problems of modern life. We do not, I trust, value

the teachings of Christ's Spirit in the Epistles of St. Paul less highly than they were valued half a century ago, but we have certainly learnt to form a juster estimate of the heritage which the Church has received in the four Gospels. Looking back over the way by which God has led the Church of England within our own lifetime, we can distinctly recognize a movement all along the line towards a fuller teaching of what Christ enjoined upon His disciples. It is this which has given new life to our use of the two great sacraments which He ordained; and it is the same happy tendency which has promoted amongst us the Christ-like spirit of service and sacrifice. The change is one for which we may well be profoundly thankful, notwithstanding any signs of human weakness by which it may have been accompanied. Yet there is room for still further growth in the direction which is indicated by our Lord's commission. *Πάντα ὅσα* opens a boundless field for Christian practice; it will be long indeed before the Church has fully taught all things whatsoever Christ enjoined upon her. The comprehensive words warn us against neglecting any of His instructions, as if they had been binding only for the time. In form they are often adapted to local or transient conditions, and these conditions call for careful study. I would mention in passing with thankfulness the help which such a work as Dalman's *Die Worte Jesu*, now translated into English, offers to those who wish to enter on this study. But when what is transitory in form has been removed, the words of the Lord will be found, I am convinced, to contain in every case matter of permanent value; they are words which, as He Himself has told us, "shall not pass away."

Lastly, this great commission ends with a promise commensurate with the responsibility it imposes. "And behold I am with you all the days until the consummation of the age." In the magnificence of its scope this final assurance

answers to the great preamble. In the one the Church is prepared for her task by the vision of a boundless authority; in the other she is cheered in her fulfilment of it by the hope of an age-long Presence.

As the preamble had been partly anticipated in Matthew xi. 27, so the promise is the expansion of the earlier saying in Matthew xviii. 20, where the Lord declares, "Where two or three are assembled in My Name, there I am in the midst of them." The *Oxyrhynchus logion* carries this a step further: "Where there are two, they are not without God; and where there is one alone, I am with him."¹ All such sayings have their root in the Old Testament promise that Jehovah will be with His people, both individually and as a body, when they are serving Him. To Jacob at Bethel God from above the ladder says, Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ μετὰ σοῦ, and the words are repeated to Moses at the Bush, to Joshua the son of Nun on the eve of the conquest of Canaan, to Joshua the son of Jehozadak at the rebuilding of the Temple (Hag. ii. 4). In the Gospel the words are taken up by Christ, who, as exercising the full authority of God, pledges His Presence to the Christian brotherhood, the new Israel. A faithful Christian is never ἄθεος ἐν τῇ κόσμῳ, for he has Christ with him. As the Son was not alone because the Father is with Him, so the disciple is not alone because Christ is with him; and where Christ is, there are also the Father and the Paraclete. This assurance holds good ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος. Συντέλεια, though abundant in the LXX., is a rare word in the New Testament, and with one exception is restricted to St. Matthew; further, it occurs only in the phrase [ἡ] συντ. [τοῦ] αἰῶνος. Like many of the eschatological conceptions of the New Testament, this comes from Daniel; cf. Daniel xii. 4: ἕως καιροῦ συντελείας; *ibid.* 13, εἰς συντελείας ἡμερῶν. In St. Matthew's phrase ὁ αἰὼν

¹ *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, i. p. 3: λέγει Ἰησοῦς, "Ὅπου ἐὰν ὦσιν δύο, οὐκ εἰσὶν ἄθεοι, καὶ ὅπου εἷς ἐστὶν μόνος, ἐγὼ εἰμι μετ' αὐτοῦ.

is doubtless the course of the world considered as a whole ; while ἐπὶ τῇ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων in Hebrews ix. 26 looks back over the earlier ages consummated by the age of the Incarnation, the Evangelists' ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἵωνος points on to the completion of the whole post-Incarnation space of the world's history at the παρουσία. Πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας corrects the expectation of a speedy Return, and at the same time supplements τοῦ αἵωνος ; if ὁ αἰὼν sums up human history, πᾶσαι αἱ ἡμέραι distributes it again into periods, and invites every generation as it passes and every believer during his own short life to claim the fulfilment of the Lord's parting word.

I have chosen this passage for examination because upon reflection I could remember none more stimulating to a body of men who are engaged in pastoral work. The great commission is commonly quoted as an incentive to missionary work, and such it certainly is. The immense field it opens—πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, the vast reaches of time it contemplates—ἕως τῆς συντελείας, the responsibility it lays on all Christian people—πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε, the infinite resources upon which it permits them to draw—πάντα ἐξουσία—such a combination of motives to missionary and evangelistic work is unparalleled. This aspect of the passage is, however, happily recognized on all hands. But it has another which though less obvious not less certainly belongs to it. The commission includes the pastoral work of the Church as well as her missionary work. Both kinds of work are not usually given to the same worker, but both have an equal claim on all the support and encouragement which this great word of Christ supplies. Our own daily task is that of teaching the baptized to keep all that the Master enjoined upon His Church at the first. Teaching is the primary work of the English parish priest ; teaching in a great variety of forms and under many names ; teaching children and adults ; teaching publicly and from house to

house, by the voice, by the pen, by the example of our lives. We are not apostles, we are not prophets, but teachers we all are, set by God in the Church, given to the Church by the ascended Lord, as truly as the apostles and the prophets were given, and not less entitled to claim our share in the fulfilment of His great promise. In each sermon we preach, in each catechizing, in each Bible-class lesson, in each simple exposition of Holy Scripture, in each effort to interpret the Gospel to young or old, by word or by example, in each and every ministerial act, there is behind us the authority and there is with us the presence of the victorious Christ, until the end of our brief share of "all the days" which span the interval between the Advents.

H. B. SWETE.

THE IDEA OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL AND THE THEOLOGY OF NATURE.

(JOHN I. 18; XIV. 8, 9.)

THE texts we interpreted in the previous number have raised certain questions which we must now attempt to discuss. What value and validity for man have the ideas as to the invisible God who has become visible in the Son? Can he and they be said to correspond? Can they be described as ideas that, although not products of his reason, yet appeal to it and satisfy it? And have they any light to shed on the general problem of the relation of revelation to nature and mind?

I.

1. Of the texts which started our discussion the one stated an incapacity of nature in the form of a fact of experience: "no man hath seen God at any time"; the other expressed a need of nature which the incapacity made only the more urgent and acute: "Shew us the Father." These are what we may call the antinomies of nature and experience, laws which may seem to be opposed, but which can neither invalidate nor annul each other. Man's need for God is too strong to be satisfied by the plea of a natural incapacity, his desire to find Him is too invincible to be silent at the bidding of an impotent experience. The saying of Augustine is familiar to us all: "Thou hast made us for Thyself, and our hearts are restless till they rest in Thee." Now the inquietude of the heart is but its need of God expressed in dumb desire. Man was made by God for God, and he cannot do without the God who made him. Atheism is a thing of art, not of nature; an individual may train or persuade himself to believe it, but it has never been the spontaneous belief of any tribe

or age, the collective need of any century or country. At most it is but a negation, and a negation is without the secret of life; it may have power to destroy, but it has none to construct. It is only a belief that another belief is false; it is not a belief that a given truth is so real that the universe has been built on it, and that what bears up the universe may well support our lives. And this is what faith in God means to the soul, and why the soul feels so insatiable a need for the faith.

It is now a generation since the autobiography of John Stuart Mill was published, but it is full of lessons that can never grow old. In it he told us that his father thought dualism more reasonable than monotheism and agnosticism more reasonable than either, for he had come to the conclusion that concerning the origin of things nothing whatever could be known; that he himself was one of the really few who had been brought up outside the Christian religion, who had never believed or practised it,* and who as socially and intellectually independent of it was able to think of it justly and judge it impartially. But in so writing he forgot several things he ought to have remembered: (i.) While his father came to think in the way just stated he did not begin by so thinking. He was trained for the Christian ministry; was a candidate for the ministerial office, and would have been a minister if he had been accepted by a congregation. (ii.) The position he reached he reached by reaction against his own understanding of the theology in which he had been educated. The God he rejected was not "the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ," but a perfectly impossible deity, an almighty maker^{of} hell for men and men for hell. If James Mill had but thought more consistently he would have seen that to deny this God was to become not an atheist but rather a more perfect theist. (iii.) His son showed how little he understood

either himself or his day or the Christian religion when he spoke of having been brought up outside it or in independence of it. That was impossible in his age and place; what fills the air a man breathes, what penetrates the language he speaks, what pervades the literature he reads, what leavens the thought of his people, is embodied in their institutions, and is the mother of all their philanthropies as well as the spirit which qualitatively distinguishes their modern from the ancient world, is a thing from which the man cannot escape, especially if he be a man as susceptible and assimilative as was John Stuart Mill. (iv.) As he misconceived the religion, he never judged it impartially, nor could he. He thought he was neutral when he was not; and where he failed to appreciate he was quite unable to criticize. (v.) Yet he, perhaps more than any man of his day, witnessed to the veracity and vitality of man's need for God, which persists in spite of the incapacity to see Him. He confessed that he did not believe that the universe had an author and governor infinite in goodness and power, yet his whole being confessed that he was bound to regulate and direct his life towards the highest good. But a single life cannot be detached from the whole; if there is a good for one there must be a good for all, and if obligation is to govern an individual it must have its sanction in the system men call the universe. Now, under what form did Mill conceive this directive power? "The ideal of a perfect Being to whom he could habitually refer as the guide of conscience"; but what did this mean save that the man who had got rid of God as an idea had to enthrone an ideal to do His work? In other words, by denying God he was obliged to invent a substitute for Him; and what sort of substitute did he invent? He loved; and though I may have my own strong convictions as to the moral character of the process which turned his love into a passion and broke up a house-

hold that but for him might have continued one and happy, —yet I note only the fact that he loved and lost, and the woman he lost became, the further he retreated from her living presence, a memory that ruled his life. And he loved to think the thoughts that would have pleased her, to do the things she would have approved, till his attitude became a kind of worship and her memory “a sort of religion.” And has not this tale a moral as true as it is pathetic? The man who could not believe in a God of “perfect goodness” found a substitute for Him in the apotheosis of a woman who owed her perfection and function as an ideal to the imagination of the man who mourned her, and who could not bear to lose her influence from his life. If the logic of incapacity had never a more illustrious victim than John Stuart Mill, man’s need for God had never a more veracious witness than the tragic sequel to his disappointed love.

2. If now man’s incapacity to see God, so far from suppressing his need of Him, only renders it the more active and acute, are there any means or standards by which we can define the kind of God he needs? Well, then, it is evident that God must represent his highest idea and that this idea will reflect and articulate what is best and most essential in himself. Now we may describe the self of man as constituted by reason, conscience, and heart; or thought, moral judgment, and a free and motivated will; and the elements necessary to him must be repeated in his highest idea, the God who is the impersonated ideal that governs his life.

(i.) Man is by pre-eminence the thinker; thought is his very essence, and the more and better he thinks the higher and the nobler grows his manhood. When he explains nature he interprets himself, for it is only in the degree that he perceives it to be reasonable that he becomes rational. But thought is a thing of spirit, not of matter: it is with-

out form or figure, is neither ponderable nor divisible, may be spoken or written, communicated or evolved, but can neither be measured nor handled. There have, indeed, been men who have described thought as a product of organization and a function of brain. "Ohne phosphor kein Gedanke," without phosphorus no thought, said one who imagined that to coin a graphic phrase was to solve a serious problem. But how out of phosphorus as a mere special kind of matter can you educe immaterial thought? by what alchemy can the ponderable be changed into the imponderable? by what art or craft can the atom which gravitation rules become the mind which speculates concerning the law that governs the universe of atoms but does not control thought? Things so incommensurable and so separated by the whole diameter of being cannot by experiment be converted into each other, or by analysis resolved into the products of a common factor. It is a very easy thing, indeed, to correlate organization and consciousness, but how does that prove organization to be the cause of thought, or thought a product of the organized brain? A very distinguished German biologist, who loves to gird at benighted theologians and to carry what he conceives to be the war into what he imagines to be their camp, has proposed what he considered to be here a grand test of truth. "Just take," he says, "the brain of a man, with all its grey matter, its lobes and wonderful convolutions, and put it in a casket, and put in a second casket beside it the brain of a well developed anthropoid ape; then submit the two to a competent arbiter, say, the inhabitant of some distant planet, that he may tell us whether there is any insurmountable difference or impassable gulf between them." Now there are decided controversial advantages in this sort of reference. For one thing the man who makes it determines the terms of the problem, and to be able to do this is to make sure of the

solution that will be offered. For another thing the arbiter, though he is supposed to come from another planet, is only another form of the man who appeals to him ; and so is certain to return a verdict in terms agreeable to the appellant. And thus the imaginative act is but a legal fiction by means of which the brains can be judicially declared not indeed to be identical, but to be capable of becoming so nearly alike as to be indistinguishable, so much so that each may be equal to performing the functions of the other. But let us ask our visitor to pause ; we, too, have a problem for him, though it somewhat differs from the one so lightly put and so easily solved. Bring other two caskets and place them alongside those already there. Into the one which stands beside the ape's brain let us put the history of his race, if history it may be said to have, telling how they have lived in the forest, climbed trees, cracked nuts, courted, fought, hungered and fed, without change or variation from the earliest moment of observation to our own day. Into the casket which stands beside the brain of man place the history of his civilization, if not as written yet as transacted and realized, the story of the arts he has invented and the art he has cultivated ; of the empires he has founded, the governments he has established, the states and the cities he has built ; of the literatures he has written, the music he has created, the religions he has professed ; of the tragedies which have made his life stern and the comedies which have filled it with mirth and humour ; of the beliefs he has lived by, the ideals he has pursued, the hopes that have cheered his desolation, and the loves that have out of his very weakness made him strong. And then, when our two supplemental caskets have been filled, let us turn to our judicial visitor and say : " We pray you, as one who knows how serious a thing life is and how much they who would live it honestly need truth as their guide, help us to solve this problem ; whether we may regard these two

brains, which differ so slightly in matter, weight and organization, as the cause of the acts which represent the immense differences between their respective races and their contrasted achievements. We are not greatly concerned as to their cranial resemblances, or as to whether the lower brain is capable of becoming even as the higher; but we do strongly desire to discover whether in their structural or material differences the causes of the histories distinctive of the separate owners is to be found." Our urgency might disturb the celestial calm of the judge to whom our terrestrial controversies may well seem trivial; but if his heavenly pity were to overcome his natural irritation we may conceive him replying somewhat thus: "The problems move in very different regions; the brain is a question in the history of nature, civilization a question in the history of mind; and effects which so differ can hardly be conceived as having like or equal causes." "True," we make reply, "but the essential nature of the ape is unfolded in his history, the essential nature of man unfolded in his civilization; and do you find the natures which have been thus unfolded stored in the brains you have been invited to examine?" And he answers: "How can I? Man's civilization is the creation of reason, thought, mind; without these it could not have been, and these no brain made nor is there in its mechanism anything to show how they came to be. Man is mind, and though mind may need an organ for its material expression it cannot be conceived as dependent for its very existence on the organ it uses." "How then do you explain the being of mind?" "It is older than man, for it is the Father of all things; it took shape in him because it is increate and eternal; the Reason that is God brought nature into being and made man become. The root of the creation blossoms into its finest fruit; the Architect of the universe could realize His universe only by means of beings who were spirits like Him-

self. The thought that built civilization but repeats and reflects the thought that created nature."

(ii.) But man is conscience as well as thought. Paul tells us that the heathen who have no written law, yet do by nature the things it enjoins; that they are a law to themselves, and have its commands written on the tables of the heart; and that the existence of this inner law is proved by two concordant witnesses, the voice of conscience and the moral judgments of men, whether condemnatory or approbatory, which they pass upon both each other and themselves.¹ He also tells us that while by nature the knowledge of God is manifest in them² yet it has seemed good to many not to retain this knowledge;³ that He made them to obey the truth but they have obeyed unrighteousness;⁴ and that to those who seek by obedience to attain eternal life He will award glory, honour and immortality, but upon those who are disobedient He will visit wrath and indignation.⁵ From these positions three notable things follow: (a) there is in man a conscience on which the finger of God has written the duty required of him; (β) he is able to obey or disobey this duty; and (γ) God will exact from every man an account as to how he has dealt with this law and how he has used this freedom. These are in an equal measure truths of nature and of revelation; it is because the one knows that the other can speak of them and so enhance their authority. It is because of the law within that no virtue of the heathen can ever be a splendid vice; that nature is ever on the side of virtue; that by following it man can at once transcend and realize himself, for he carries within a standard which changes him from a mortal individual into a vehicle of the eternal and universal; and that he is able, while doing what it most becomes himself to do, to do also what most serves man—found states, frame codes of duty, speak a common ethical language, recognize and fulfil com-

¹ Rom. ii. 14, 15.² i. 19.³ i. 28.⁴ i. 19, 21.⁵ ii. 7, 8.

mon obligations. It is because he is free that he can do the thing he ought ; that, since he is able to create fresh good his obligation to do it is absolute ; and that he is not so fettered by the inheritance of an ignoble past as to be absolved from the duty of introducing a more gracious future. And it is because God is above and over us all that actions done in time yet range towards eternity ; that our temporal is the germ of an immortal being ; that while we are, singly, but units, yet we do not constitute a universe of atoms, but a co-ordinated unity, created by a law which the individual can obey, but the whole alone can realize. Hence comes our conclusion:—Conscience in man demands righteousness in God ; a moral Deity is involved in a moral mankind ; unless God be absolutely holy and pure man will not be able to do Him reverence. The law implanted in us requires that the highest idea, if it be so articulated as to be an object of worship, shall be one that while evoking adoration yet awes and uplifts the adorer.

(iii.) The man who is reason and conscience is also heart. It can be as truly said of man as of God, he is love ; where it is not there is no humanity. "Intellect without affection" defines neither man nor God, but only the devil. Invest Satan with all the power of the Almighty, yet leave him in every other respect unchanged, and he would not thereby become like God, but only a thousandfold more the child of hell than before. For what makes a person a devil and his environment a hell save the want of love ? For where there is no love there is simply an insatiable selfishness, guarded by a suspicion that can never trust and a fear that cannot rest. The loveless man loves his own happiness but that of no other being. Around him are multitudes who desire happiness, some asking it from him or seeking to attain it with him and through him ; but he, as void of love, desires happiness for himself alone and sacrifices theirs to his, though he soon discovers that selfish

happiness is but the lust that begets misery and turns into despair. And a loveless man who despairs of pleasure is indeed a terrible being. More ruthless than any beast of prey, he can spoil innocence and glory in its shame; he can rejoice in the pallor that steals upon the cheek once ruddy with health; the cry of the orphan comes to sound like music in his ear; the ravages of disease and crime and death wake in him no pity, though they may stir the horror that fears for himself. And there is no misery like the misery of him in whom fear for self has taken the place of love for others, who reads danger in every human face, sees an enemy in every living form, who hears disaster murmured in every breeze, disease blown about on every wind, or death threatened by every exhalation. He who fears for himself alone, will find suspicion of others so grow on him that carefulness on their part will seem but a new monition of danger and a cause of deeper fear; and in his dreaded yet desired isolation he will come to feel as if all the agony of earth were impersonated in his single breast. It is this that makes the loveless a Satanic state; for hell is created by the hate which begets suspicion and solitude. Where no being loves and every being fears, where no eye can close, for every other eye watches for the opportunity of gratifying jealousy or envy, of indulging malice or the revenge that lusts to murder,—there is hell and the men who make their home in it are devils. But if love be so necessary to man, what must it be to God? The loveless Maker of a universe were a being we could neither revere nor adore. Yet is not this very inability a witness to the moral character of our Creator? He so made us that we could not worship an Almighty devil, who were a being a coward might flatter, but no man could praise. We can love only the lovable, and only where love is can there be the will to do good and the power to accomplish it. To be without heart is to be able to seduce innocence without remorse; and not even the

seduced can love the remorseless seducer. Man may yield to the devil's temptation, but it does not follow that he on that account loves the devil; nay, he may hate him all the more that he has not tempted in vain. God, then, to be a Being man can worship must be the impersonated goodness he can admire and adore, reasonable in all His acts, righteous in all His works, gracious in all His ways. Were He less than this our souls could not be persuaded to the obedience which is realized love.

II.

1. So much for the God needed to satisfy the higher and better nature in man. But that nature has this curious quality,—the higher and better it becomes it is the less easily satisfied, especially in those things it does or produces for its own delectation. And it is not surprising that refined nature should be most justly dissatisfied with the work of its barbarous state in the highest region of thought, and more especially with the sort of gods it then made and bade man worship. It is out of this inability of nature to satisfy nature in the matter of religion that the need for revelation has come; for revelation means that unless God makes Himself known man will never really know Him, or, in other words, can never realize the perfect religion. And the higher our idea of God rises the less can we deny to Him the power and the right of speech. The race that could not speak would not be rational, for what were reason without the gift of expression? A dumb race—i.e. one without the power to make and to use language—would be a race without intelligence. The thought that cannot be uttered is thought that does not live. And so God in the very degree that He is reason will speak; that He is righteous, will act and govern; that He is love, will show Himself gracious. And how can He speak unless He addresses those who hear? How can He

govern unless He reigns over those who are able to obey? And how can He be gracious unless He declare Himself to those who stand in need of His love? But these are all personal acts, not possible of expression save in personal forms, not capable of apprehension save by persons. And this signifies that if God is to be revealed it must be on the one hand by His own spontaneous action, and, on the other, by the use of a medium which we may conceive as an objective personality to Him, and which is essentially such to us. There is a familiar tale of the Italian boy who became the most famed of sculptors, sitting long and pensively before the supreme work of his master, wondering, admiring, judging as only an artist can. The master watched the boy, and read in the eager yet shadowed face the verdict of posterity. Suddenly the lad rose and turned sadly away, murmuring to himself: "It needs but one thing to be perfect." Much did the master marvel at the boy's speech, and one day, seeking knowledge that he might die in peace, he asked his pupil: "Michael, what did that statue of mine need to be perfect?" "Need, Master? it needed speech." It had received from its creator's genius everything but life; and without that what was it but a dead and graven image? And what is nature but a dumb creation with man sitting before her open-eyed and wondering, asking whence she has come and he with her? Whither he and she are together going? She silent and sphinx-like answers only by her sculptured face and couchant figure, leaving the imagination of man to reply to the questions which his reason has asked. But God could not leave man to such a dumb instructrix; the creature He had made that He might love appealed too strongly to His heart. "The only begotten Son who is in the bosom of the Father, He declared *Him*." The men who see the Son, see the Father; and from Him who has ever lived in God, they learn to know what God is.

2. If the revelation of God must be through a person,

then where in all history can we find so suitable a personal medium as Jesus Christ, one whose manhood is so calculated to make our conception of God more sublime and gracious? The character of the interpreter adds its finest qualities to His interpretation. We believe that He lived in God and we seek God through Him; the affinity of His manhood with God brings Deity near us, while the affinity of our manhood with His lifts us nearer to Deity. As the medium of revelation He is like the great ærial ocean which floats round and enfolds our earth; without it gravitation could not exercise its mystic power, binding mass to mass, planet to sun and system to system, and making of immensity a shoreless sea in which worlds sail more noiselessly and sure than were they guided by rudder and compass; without it the light and heat which the sun flings from his burning face would never visit us and change our cold earth from a dwelling of death into the home of rational life. Why He is qualified to be so lucid a medium is expressed in His very name; He is "the Son," or, as the *Te Deum* has it, "the everlasting Son of the Father." The two notions are inseparable; where the Father is the Son must be; if we had no "everlasting Son" we could have no essential or eternal Father. And each is as the other is. The machine witnesses to the skill of the mechanic; the pupil to the learning or genius of the master; the son to the character and qualities of the father. The gentleness, the grace, the sternness, the patience, the inflexible integrity towards men which marked the One distinguishes also the Other. There were men who were wont to argue as if God's Fatherhood signified mere indulgent good nature, as if His goodness prevented Him from being a cause of suffering and would not even allow Him to see a creature suffer; and they forgot that Jesus could be fierce as well as gentle, angry as well as gracious, and that man could by his sin not indeed punish God, yet inflict upon Him the

sorest suffering. Then there were other men who, on the contrary, argued as if God were so severe and austere that while the insult of the sinner's sin moved Him to anger, the misery of the sinner's state did not touch Him with pity. Thus a distinguished and subtle divine defined Sovereignty and Fatherhood, when predicated of Deity, as, respectively, titles of nature and of grace; God as Sovereign having over against all men rights He must enforce, but as Father duties of tenderness and care which were proper only to His own; and one who heard Him discourse on this distinction said "that man would take from God all that makes Him divine and gracious." But there could not be a more unreal antithesis, for the father who is not a sovereign and never enforces his authority and rights, is but the shiftless head of a shiftless family. There is indeed nothing so mischievous in public politics or in private morals as the easy good nature which fears the giving of pain too much to be able to punish wrong. And the sovereign who is not the conscious father of his people is no just king, but is an owner and a disposer of chattels rather than a ruler of men. In God these two constitute a noble unity, all His paternal acts are regal, all His regal functions are paternal. An emasculated Deity, incapable of the anger that burns like a consuming fire against iniquity and oppression, were no Deity fit to hold the reins of a wicked and guilty world; and a pitiless God who never saw the pathos of the sinner's lot, whether he sins against his will or in the flowing tide of irresistible inclination, is not equal to the sovereignty of a fallen race. The two functions need then to be sublimed into a fine and balanced harmony that God may reign in love and yet man be saved from his sin.

3. But though these functions constitute a unity, they express also a difference. God is one, but He has an infinity of attributes, every attribute denoting a distinct

quality in the Divine character, or a special aspect in the Divine relations. And so here the sovereign is concerned with authority and law, but the father with the child and his obedience. The first thought of the purely legal monarch is order, and how to maintain it; the first thought of the regal parent is the family and how to preserve it. The relations and acts of the sovereign are impersonal and juridical, but those of the father are personal and ethical. The former enforces law that he may vindicate justice and uphold order; the latter maintains authority that he may discipline and benefit his children. The sovereign honours the law by punishing the transgressors, and in order to this he builds a prison that so far from reforming may only further corrupt and deprave the wrong-doer; but the father vindicates authority by chastisement, which is distinguished from penalty by seeking not so much to create fear of law and of its majesty as to reclaim the disobedient and uplift the fallen. The one regards the whole, the other the persons who compose it. The sovereign says: "I impersonate the law without which there would be no society and no state, no justice between man and man, no fear of wrong and unfaithfulness, no security for property and no guardianship of rights." But the father says: "I am the embodied providence of the family, toil for it, spin for it, think of all its members, help all and love all, especially the helpless, the unloved and the unlovable." But the very difference in the functions makes their unity and concurrence in God the more needful to the seemliness of His action. It would not be God-like to save by being unjust to law, any more than it would be to think of His majesty to the neglect of His grace. We can as little imagine that it would become God to save the guilty by doing indignity to justice, violating order or tarnishing right as to conceive that it would be agreeable to Him to think that He magnified justice by forgetting mercy and dealing pitilessly by

the miserable mortals who could not choose but sin. Sovereignty is as normal as fatherhood ; fatherhood is as normal as sovereignty ; and it is by showing their complete and indefeasible unity that the Christian redemption so glorifies God. If He had not been Sovereign, man would never have needed reconciliation to Him ; If He had not been Father, the means of reconciliation never could have been found. The sovereignty which loves law, upholds justice, and institutes order, could not have winked at sin or benignly smiled on the transgressor ; the fatherhood which has a heart for men and pity for the forlorn could not have allowed red-handed vengeance to work its will upon a fallen race. But if without the sovereignty there would have been no need for a Redeemer, yet if there had been nothing else, He would not have been possible. For law has power to punish but none to save ; justice has the will to vindicate the denied authority, but not to deliver the denier ; and so the God who has only regal rights and legal instruments could never have permitted the guilty to escape, let alone have provided the means for its attainment. But with the Fatherhood there could not but be a Redeemer, and redemption by suffering ; for the sin of the child is the sorrow of the parent. And is there anything so absolutely irrepressible as the grief that would die to save the son who has been its cause ?

4. The positions thus reached are fundamental, and ought to supply us with standards for the appraisal of cardinal evangelical doctrines. (i.) The Father and the Son cannot be placed in opposition ; they agree in will, though they differ in function. The Son is not the rival, but the agent of the Father ; He does not cancel but fulfils the purposes of the Sovereign. (ii.) The work which expresses the common will is as much the Father's as the Son's. His blood does not purchase the Divine love, for the love that could be bought by blood were not divine ; but it expresses the

sorrow of Him who gave, the suffering of Him who was given, and the sacrifice which was made by both. (iii.) The sovereign, though he may will the good of the law-breaker, yet cannot save him by breaking the law himself, for that would be to gratify pity at the expense of order and all it stands for; the father, though he may feel hindered by authority and may hate the shame of penalty, yet must regard their rights, for to do otherwise would be to make himself the slave of the wrong-doer and the approver of the wrong he did. The common suffering of Father and Son is a joint homage to the sovereignty; their union in sacrifice is the witness to the fatherhood. (iv.) The eternal and essential unity expressed in "the only begotten Son who is in the bosom of the Father" is fulfilled and realized under historical conditions when Christ so did the Father's will as, on the one hand, to reconcile man to God, and on the other hand to incline and qualify man to do what is well pleasing in His sight. (v.) As the son became the standard regulative of Christian conduct, He also becomes the principle regulative of Christian thought. That principle is to the Greek the orthodoxy of the Church; to the Roman its infallibility as embodied in the Pope and articulated by him; to the Lutheran justification by faith, which, as it is accepted or denied, decides whether a Church shall stand or fall; to the Reformed, who was here the more radical and so nearer the truth, it was the gracious will and character of God. The grace of the reformed divine was indeed not always gracious, but he did right in beginning not with any special Church or any personal doctrine, but with the God who was the source of all religion and the matter of all thought. There, too, we would begin, not indeed with the God of a nature "red in tooth and claw," or with the absolute and the abstract, which is the Deity of philosophy, but with the God the Son declared. Where He placed us there we stand, and look at God

through His eyes, and at man with a vision He has clarified and enlarged; and we come to understand how it is that when man sinned God could not but suffer, and how His suffering became a sacrifice which reconciles the guilty to the All-Good. And so we come to see how profoundly true is the word of Paul, "Christ Jesus is made unto us of God, wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption, that it may be according as it is written, He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord."

A. M. FAIRBAIRN.

A LOST CHAPTER OF EARLY CHRISTIAN HISTORY.

IN the quaint and interesting story or legend of St. Thekla, which has come down to us under the name of "the Acts of Paul and Thekla," a certain Queen or rich lady, named Tryphæna,¹ plays an important part. Gutschmid first pointed out that Tryphæna was an historical personage, and his remarks about her, with their mixture of acuteness and error, have been simply reproduced by Lipsius, who failed to observe how much had been learned about her in the interval since Gutschmid wrote. Lipsius quotes the paper in which Mommsen unravelled as far as was then possible the complicated history and relationship of Tryphæna; but apparently imagined that Mommsen's Tryphæna was a different person from Gutschmid's. There is indeed an extraordinary dissimilarity between the two. Gutschmid's Tryphæna was a daughter of Juba, king of Mauretania and Cleopatra (daughter of the famous Egyptian queen), and gained the title Queen by her marriage to Polemon, King of Cilicia. Mommsen's Tryphæna belonged to a noble family of Asia Minor, was Queen of Pontus in her own right by inheritance from her mother Pythodoris (granddaughter of the Triumvir Mark Antony), and reigned in Pontus conjointly with her son Polemon. Yet all that differentiates the two queens is error on the part of Gutschmid. Both he and Mommsen were speaking of the same person.² The difference between them gives a good measure of the progress of knowledge

¹ "Queen" in the Syriac version, "a certain lady of a royal house" in the Armenian, "a certain rich woman" in the Greek and Latin (but Lipsius inserts *βασιλισσα* in his edition of the Greek text without MS. authority).

² Mommsen's paper summed up and added immensely to the results of other scholars, chiefly Waddington and Von Sallet.

with regard to the history and circumstances of Asia Minor in the early Christian period.

In the *Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170*, the present writer attempted to treat on the basis of Mommsen's paper the part which Tryphæna played in the Thekla-legend; and the conclusion reached was that there must have been a real historical foundation for the action attributed to her in the legendary *Acta*.

In the present paper the discoveries of the last few years with regard to this queen will be described; and it will be evident that, although no such startling transformation has occurred as that which made Gutschmid's into Mommsen's Tryphæna, yet the subject has advanced considerably. It will also be observed that the progress of discovery in this case affords an instructive example of the way in which the history of the first century is gradually being restored, by a new detail here and an incident there; and it also gives a warning as to the extreme wariness and care with which new discoveries or suggestions must be scrutinized before they are accepted.

The inference to be drawn from the whole circumstances which have to be related is that it is proper, every few years, to study afresh, without prejudice in favour of former views, the history of early Christianity in the light of our growing knowledge of the period.

The difficulty in identifying the Tryphæna of the Thekla-legend with the Pontic queen was this. Tryphæna appears in the legend as a lonely widow, complaining of her powerlessness and isolation from her family, taking part in a great ceremony of the Imperial State religion at Pisidian Antioch, and therefore obviously resident in, or on the borders of, Southern Galatia. The Pontic queen reigned in a distant country; and though her presence at such an Imperial ceremony might have been easily understood, if the ceremony had been held at Ancyra, the capital of North Galatia

and of the entire Galatic Province, yet it seemed highly improbable that she should appear in Antioch, and her complaint of powerlessness and friendlessness also appeared out of keeping with her sovereign position. The following hypothesis was advanced in the *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 386, to account for her presence.

The known facts were these: (1) Tryphæna reigned in Pontus for some years after A.D. 38, conjointly with her son Polemon: some coins bear the portraits and names of both her and her son: (2) her father had at one time been king of Iconium and a considerable territory round and south of it, and her son was granted part of that territory by Claudius and sent to live on it by Nero. The hypothesis as stated was built on those facts, to the effect that Polemon, who came of age and entered on the sovereignty after his mother had become accustomed for many years to regard herself as Queen in her own right, found some difficulty in getting on amicably with her. He had been educated from infancy in Rome, while she lived and played the great lady in Asia. She had succeeded her mother Pythodoris, who reigned for many years alone in Pontus, treating her own son as a subject and not as a sovereign; and Tryphæna too was likely to be exacting in her demand on her son's obedience. Now, though historians allude to Polemon occasionally, they never mention Tryphæna. This proves that she was not so successful as she probably wished in imposing her influence on her son and on the realm. It is therefore natural and probable that she quarrelled with her son, and retired to a life of seclusion in her own family estates in one of her father's former kingdoms; and hence we find her in the *Acta* a solitary, disappointed and mournful old woman, resident somewhere in or on the south frontier of Southern Galatia, and appearing at its capital, Antioch, to show her loyalty and do honour to the Emperor by greeting his representative and

by taking some part in a great festival of the Imperial worship.

The coins bearing the name of Queen Tryphæna have been much increased in number during recent years. They can now be divided into classes, and the chronological succession of the classes fixed with probability or even certainty. Coins are known, which bear her name and portrait, and the portrait without name of her son Polemon with the date 17 and 18, (IZ and IH). M. Imhoof Blumer interpreted these dates as reckoned from A.D. 38, when Polemon was permitted by the Emperor Caligula to take up his inheritance, as King of Pontus, jointly with his mother. Hence he concluded that she was still reigning there until A.D. 55. In an article on Pontus in Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. iv. p. 16, I have accepted this reckoning.

But if Tryphæna had been living and striking coins as Queen in Pontus in A.D. 55 and 56, the hypothesis just stated could hardly be sustained. It would require to be complicated with some such addition as that she had been reconciled again to her son and returned to Pontus. Now the sole justification of the hypothesis lay in its being so natural and probable; but in proportion as the disagreement of the joint rulers is probable, so their subsequent reconciliation would be improbable. Another suggestion might be that Tryphæna's acquaintance with Thekla began at a later date, but that does not suit the *Acta* well.

In short, according to M. Imhoof Blumer's view, the numismatic facts would be distinctly unfavourable to the historicity of the Tryphæna episode; and a probability would be established that the incident in which she plays a part was merely a fictitious romance about a historical personage. In the article on Pontus, just mentioned, I originally inserted a footnote saying that some correction of my published views on this subject would be necessitated

on account of M. Imhoof Blumer's discovery, but by a fortunate chance the note was struck out of the proof-sheets in order to make room for an addition required in the text.

M. Th. Reinach has published in the latest number of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1902, p. 4 ff., a note on the coinage of Tryphæna, in which he corrects the dating of the great Swiss numismatist; and the changes which he makes throws a flood of light on the history of the Queen. His arguments, it should be added, are drawn purely from considerations of Roman history, and probably he is not aware of my speculations about the Queen in the legend, or if he is aware of them would regard them as too vague and shadowy to be worthy of the notice of a historical inquirer. Hence the light which his views throw on the tale of Thekla is all the more welcome and valuable. It is unnecessary here to state fully his arguments, which appear to me conclusive in the present state of our knowledge; ¹ those who are interested in the demonstration can study it in his own words. But he has not lingered over the subject long enough to point out in detail how much his view simplifies both the numismatic and the historical development. This simplicity is in itself a strong argument in his favour; and, though his view still remains on the plane of theory and hypothesis, like that of M. Imhoof Blumer, and must remain so until new discoveries confirm it, yet there is no reason to doubt that it will be accepted by the historians and the numismatists.

The history of the Queen, if we accept his view, now stands out clearly. She was born some time after B.C. 12 and before B.C. 8 (when her father, Polemon I., King of Pontus, died), she was great-granddaughter of Mark Antony, and second cousin of the Emperor Caligula (A.D. 37-41),

¹ Except one single point, which is rather doubtful, but does not seriously affect the conclusions here stated: see below p. 289.

while her mother was cousin of the Emperor Claudius (A.D. 41-54). She was married to Kotys, King of Thrace, and left a widow by his early death before A.D. 19 with three sons, who were taken to Rome and brought up there in company with the future Emperor Caligula, while Tryphæna took up her residence at Cyzicus, which had naturally been in close relations with her husband and his kingdom.

The mother of Tryphæna was Pythodoris, who reigned as Queen of Pontus after her husband's death until A.D. 22-23,¹ when she died. By the custom of Asia Minor Tryphæna ought now to have succeeded to the sovereignty of Pontus, but the jealousy and distrust of Tiberius would not permit her to take up the succession to her mother, and she continued until that Emperor's death to reside, either occasionally or permanently, in Cyzicus, the great city on the Propontis. Here she was a person of great consequence on account of her high birth and wealth. Several long inscriptions show her as taking an active and interested part in municipal affairs. It was a habit with the women of Anatolia to take an active interest in public life, and both Queen Pythodoris and Tryphæna were true to the custom of the country. The former governed Pontus and Bosphorus for more than thirty years as reigning sovereign, and Tryphæna played an intelligent part in the State of Cyzicus.²

As early as A.D. 15, during her husband's lifetime, the merchants and resident strangers of the Province Asia made a dedication in her honour at Cyzicus. Later the State and the Roman merchants of Cyzicus, "her second fatherland," recognized her services by several dedications. She became priestess of the Empress Livia. She restored or

¹ The date is inferred by M. Th. Reinach from the coins mentioned: see p. 286

² See Mr. Hasluck's account of her public works in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1902, p. 182.

rebuilt various parts of the city which had suffered much during the Mithridatic and the Civil Wars. She reopened to commerce the harbour which had been injured by the blocking of the entrance-channels.

It was perhaps through recollection of the Queen that the name Tryphæna lasted in Cyzicus, where a martyr, St. Tryphæna, is mentioned under Diocletian. There may be a vestige of truth about this later Tryphæna, and, if so, her case might merely prove that the name became popular in Cyzicus. But it seems more probable that the martyr is fictitious. Her story is too like that of Stratonica;¹ and the resemblance suggests that a legend gradually gathered in Christian memory round the name of the Queen, not as a real personage of real history, but as a figure in the tale of Thekla. But the localization of St. Tryphæna in Cyzicus implies that the Church in Cyzicus was old enough to have some vague recollection that the Tryphæna of the Thekla legend had had some connexion with their city. If our interpretation is correct it would furnish a good example of the way in which martyr-legends grew round a really historical name, though not a vestige of truth can be found in the story, as it gradually took form by gathering detail from other *Acta* of martyrs which might or might not possess some claim to be historical.

Meanwhile the kingdom of Pontus seems to have been administered directly by a representative probably a procurator of the Emperor Tiberius; it was not incorporated in a province, but treated like a dependent kingdom (as hitherto it had been), only its sovereign was not for the moment allowed to hold the reins of power.

The death of Tiberius changed the position of Tryphæna.

¹ Stratonica in *Acta Sanctorum*, 31st October. Tryphæna, *ibid.*, January, vol. ii. p. 1081.

Her mother's cousin, Caligula, now became emperor. He carried his affection for his relative to an extreme, gave his deceased grandmother Antonia the title of Empress with divine honours, and favoured the names Antonia and Antonius. His three companions in childhood, the sons of Tryphæna, were all raised to be kings: the eldest in his father's land of Thrace; the second, Polemon II., in his grandparents' and mother's sovereignty over Pontus and Bosphorus; the third, Kotys, in Armenia Minor. These changes needed time, and it was not till October or November A.D. 38 that the new administration of Pontus began, for the dated coins of Polemon II. show that his first year was the one which ended in September A.D. 39.¹

Antonia Tryphæna now returned to Pontus, and the Pontic coinage shows that she reigned there as Queen Tryphæna. Now, during the period of her retirement in Cyzicus, Tryphæna could hardly have ventured to take the title of Queen. It was not safe to do anything that might give umbrage to the jealousy of Tiberius, or be capable of being represented to him as disrespectful or disobedient. But, on the other hand, she seems not to have been given the title by Caligula, when he gave it to her son, but simply to have resumed it as being already hers by right of birth; and, if so, she must have dated it from her mother's death. To date it from A.D. 38 would be an act of treason, for it would attribute to Caligula an action, which he did not perform.

Thus there was a Queen and a King of Pontus reigning conjointly. Formerly it was imagined that they must have been a married couple: so Gutschmid and others believed, but Waddington first pointed out that the Queen is represented on the coins as much older than the King

¹ In the Pontic calendar the year began about equinox of autumn.

and must therefore have been his mother, and the inscriptions subsequently discovered have entirely confirmed his observation.

The relation between the young King and the old Queen must have been a delicate one (as has been shown above), and the coins, as they are arranged by M. Th. Reinach, bring this out very clearly, proving beyond doubt that the want of good feeling, which our hypothesis supposed, did actually exist between the two sovereigns.

In the first two years of the joint reign, A.D. 38-40, the Pontic royal coins bear the portrait and name of Tryphæna on the obverse; on the reverse appears the portrait of Polemon but not his name, also the numbers 17 and 18 (IZ and IH). There can be no question that here the intention is to represent the Queen as the important personage and the young King as secondary. Tryphæna evidently desired to imitate, as far as respect to the imperial mandate permitted, the example of her mother, who had associated her eldest son with her in the administration without allowing him the kingly title. The dates, therefore, must be counted according to the chief personage on the coin, and not according to the nameless portrait on the reverse side; and, since there would naturally be an outburst of coinage when Queen Tryphæna began to exercise her long-delayed sovereignty, it may be assumed that the year 17 of her nominal reign was the first of her actual power A.D. 37-38, and that her mother had died in A.D. 22-23.

But this was not long permitted, and there follow a series of coins undated, bearing the portrait and name of Polemon on the obverse, and on the reverse the name and sometimes the portrait of Tryphæna. It is probable that the earliest of these coins were those bearing the portrait of the Queen, and that she afterwards lost this mark of equality.

This series evidently belongs to the period 41-48 A.D., but none of them bear dates, so that absolute certainty is unattainable. Probably the series began when Claudius came to the throne in January 41 A.D. He was not so favourable to the Pontic sovereigns as Caligula had been, for he took away the realm of Bosphorus from them (giving in compensation a part of Cilicia Tracheia along with the important city of Olba). He may have objected to Tryphæna's action in making her son a secondary personage contrary to imperial order.

The probable course of events may be restored from analogous incidents in the history of such dependent kingdoms. The King was discontented with his inferior position and sent envoys to complain to the supreme authority of the Emperor. The Queen sent other envoys to state her side of the case. The Emperor then gave his decision, but the proceedings must have lasted a considerable time.

The situation was complicated by the murder of Caligula and the accession of Claudius, in January A.D. 41, and it can hardly have been earlier than the end of that year that the new Emperor's decision arrived, giving the superior position to the King, but not degrading the Queen. Equality was established as nearly as possible between the two sovereigns, and the delicate question whether the regnal year inscribed on the coins should be counted according to Tryphæna's or Polemon's reign, was solved by omitting the number. The arrangement lasted for some years, but the influence of Tryphæna grew weaker and her portrait disappeared from the coins, though her name remained.

About A.D. 48 the joint coinage ceased, and Polemon struck coins henceforth without recognizing his mother's rights. In A.D. 49, there begins a new series of coins, bearing on the obverse the name of Polemon with or without

his portrait, and on the reverse the portrait of a Roman Emperor or Empress along with dates from 12 to 23 (IB to KI),¹ evidently the years of Polemon's reign. The series therefore ranges from A.D. 49-50 to 60-61.

So far as numismatic evidence goes this might have suggested that Queen Tryphæna died at this time, when she must have been about 57 years of age. But here the *Acta of Paul and Thekla* completes the record. Tryphæna was still living, but the experiment in dual sovereignty had failed and was now abandoned. First the portrait of the Queen had disappeared from the coins, and now her name also disappeared. The exact circumstances are unknown. Perhaps another appeal was made to the Emperor and he decided against her. But it is not improbable that the mother became tired of the unpleasant situation and voluntarily retired from Pontus either into private life on one of the family estates, or into a semi-royal residence on the royal property in Cilicia Tracheia.

Tryphæna had now entirely disappeared from the coinage, and the reigning Emperor or Empress was recognized. The fact was that imperial influence was now closing in on Pontus. The kings had done the work of preparing the Pontic population for absorption in the empire, which (as Strabo says) was what they were expected to do, and it was nearly time for them to pass away and let Pontus be made into a province. It is highly improbable that that influence was allowed to relax again, and that (as M. Imhoof Blumer's dating of the coins would require) any coins were afterwards struck by Polemon without an imperial effigy to convey a formal recognition of the Imperial supremacy. The Imperial policy moved steadily on to its consummation. As we know, about twelve years

¹ Claudius, his wife Agrippina, Britannicus during his brief life as heir-apparent and as joint emperor along with Nero, and Nero himself, all appear on the coins.

later, the Imperial government began to think about taking the final step, and, after some consideration, it deprived Polemon of his Pontic kingdom in A.D. 63, but allowed him to retain his sovereignty in Cilicia Tracheia with the title King, and until his death, about A.D. 73, he resided in Cilicia, perhaps at Olba. His Pontic kingdom was incorporated in the Province Galatia, as a distinct *Region* under the name Pontus Polemoniacus¹ which it retained for more than two centuries.²

History is, naturally, as silent about the subsequent fortunes of Tryphæna as it is about her sovereignty. But the Thekla-legend comes to our aid, showing her to us, a disappointed and solitary woman, a dethroned queen, residing in, or on the borders of, South Galatia. In her position it was natural and almost obligatory that, when the Roman governor of the Province Galatia came to Antioch to be present at a great ceremony in the provincial cultus of the emperors, and a great demonstration of the provincial loyalty, the Queen, who had been herself a priestess in that cultus, should show her respect by coming to Antioch. Thus she was present at the *Venatio* when Thekla was punished, not for Christianity (which was not yet a crime),³

¹ To distinguish it from Provincia Pontus, which was classed along with Bithynia, and from Pontus Galaticus, which had been part of the Province Galatia for many years.

² I assume that M. Reinach is right in thinking that a Pontic coin (which has hitherto been supposed to contain the portrait of Caligula and to belong to year 1st of Polemon) contains the portrait of Nero and belongs to year KIst; but this is far from certain. If Waddington and others are right, we should have to understand that Caligula, when the Pontic embassies approached him, decided entirely against Tryphæna's right; and that Claudius restored her to equality. This latter supposition seems to me perhaps the probable one; but M. Reinach's authority is high, and for our purposes the point is immaterial.

³ As is pointed out, the *Acta* is quite clear on this point. Thekla was punished solely on the charge of treason and disrespect to the emperor (*maiestas*).

but for disrespect to the Imperial dignity in having struck the high priest of the Imperial gods, and torn from his head and dashed on the ground the official crown with its portrait of the reigning emperor.¹

In this situation how natural are the words which in the *Acta* are spoken by Queen Tryphæna, when Thekla was torn from her protection! "This second time doth affliction and sorrow come upon my house, and there is not any one to help me, . . . and no member of my noble house cometh to my assistance, and I am a widow woman." Equally natural is it that, though she laments over her loneliness and friendlessness, she is treated with extreme deference by the Roman officers, who are afraid that the emperor may be angry with them if they do anything that causes her serious annoyance. Even in her retirement she was a personage of high standing, and hedged in by the respect and awe in which even a distant relation of the emperor stood.

Further, this was true only in the period preceding A.D. 54. Nero, who came to the throne in October 54, had no relationship with the Pontic family; and he rather preferred to throw contempt on any thing or person favoured by his predecessor. The *Acta* gives a picture perfectly true to the time, and yet a picture which immediately afterwards ceased to be true and quickly faded out of memory and even out of history; one of the two brief references which Dion Cassius makes to Polemon gives the name of his father incorrectly; and no historian even mentions the name of Tryphæna, which is preserved only by coins and inscriptions.

The family of Queen Tryphæna is connected with the early history of Christianity by other legends. Various stories have gathered around the person of the Apostle

¹ Of the official crown the latest and best account is given by Mr. G. F. Hill in the Austrian *Jahreshefte*, 1899, p. 245 ff.

Bartholomew, making him an important figure in the Christianization of eastern Asia Minor and the adjoining lands. Those stories mostly agree in one point: they make Bartholomew preach in some part of the kingdom of Polemon, and even bring him into actual relations with that king or with his uncle Zenon (brother of Tryphæna),¹ who was made king of Armenia Magna in A.D. 18, and took the name Artaxias. In the legends the names are corrupted into Polemios or Polymios and Astreges or Astyages, the former being the king of the land and Astreges his brother.² As to the country where Bartholomew preached, the legends vary. Sometimes they speak of Bosporus, sometimes of Armenia, sometimes of Lycaonia, sometimes of Upper Phrygia and Pisidia, sometimes of India.

In this variety there is only one thread of connexion, viz. Polemon himself. He had been King of Bosporus from A.D. 38 to 41: part of Armenia was bestowed on him by Nero in A.D. 60: his grandfather had at one time ruled over part of Upper Phrygia and Lycaonia and Cilicia with Iconium as his residence, and he himself was granted the sovereignty of part of Cilicia Tracheia, adjoining Lycaonia, in A.D. 41; and he retired thither in 63. Moreover the Armenian legend says that Bartholomew suffered martyrdom at Ourbanopolis. Now Ourbanopolis was not a city of Armenia: there can be no doubt that Ourbano-polis was simply "the polis of the Ourbanoi, or men of Ourba," and Ourba or Ourwa was the native name of a city in Cilicia Tracheia, which was Hellenized as Orba or Olba, and

¹ He died in 35 A.D. Kotys, the brother of Polemon II., was made king of Armenia Minor in A.D. 38.

² Gutschmid and Lipsius incorrectly say that the historical Artaxias-Zenon was brother of Polemon. He was brother of Tryphæna; see the stemma constructed by Mommsen, and reproduced with an addition in the *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 427. By a slip the word 'brother' is used for 'uncle' in the article *Pontus*, *loc. cit.*, p. 16.

which is still called Oura.¹ There is every probability that Olba or Ourwa was the place where Polemon resided from 63 to 68 or later, and where he struck coins after he ceased to be King of Pontus.²

Even when the scene of the Bartholomew-legends is laid in India, the names Polemius and Astreges are retained, which shows that the name India is a mere vague indication of the eastern land. The whole series of tales may be taken as mere romance associated with the spread of Christianity into the districts east of the Roman bounds. But in them there seems to be some vague remembrance of some real historical relation between Bartholomew and King Polemon. It seems impossible that there should remain in those distortions some link of connexion with the king, unless some real fact existed in the background. On the other hand, so varied and ingenious are the distortions as to hide almost completely the lost fact. Possibly the steps in the growth of the legends may have been as follows.

It is practically certain that the eastern part of Lycaonia (which was subject to Antiochus, and which St. Paul had omitted as non-Roman territory, though he crossed it twice on his way from Cilicia to Derbe) must have been Christianized shortly after St. Paul's time. The best and doubtless oldest of the legends attributes this work to Bartholomew, and calls him the Apostle of the Lycaonians. From Lycaonia it is natural and probable that he should penetrate south to Olba or Oura the city of Polemon.

¹ See *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 364. Nicephorus alone among ancient authorities is right on this point. The Armenian city Areuban is quoted by some.

² See Mr. G. F. Hill in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1899, p. 188, who comes independently to the same conclusion about the needed addition to Mommsen's stemma of the family, which was suggested in the *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 427 (see note above, p. 291).

Now Polemon was one of that large class in Asia Minor which had been attracted by the Jewish religion. But he went further than most. He was eager to marry (as Josephus says, on account of her wealth) Berenice, daughter of Herod Agrippa I. (*Acts* xii. 1 f., 20 f.), sister of Herod Agrippa II. (*Acts* xxv. 13), and widow of another Herod, her uncle (King of Chalcis in Syria): Berenice was not merely wealthy but also possessed of such charm that Titus, the Roman Emperor, loved her and was hardly prevented from outraging Roman feeling by marrying her, though she must have been nearly fifty years old at the time. But her family was Jewish, and Polemon had to accept the conditions demanded and become a circumcised proselyte.

As Josephus calls her husband king of (a part of) Cilicia and implies that he was living in that country, Polemon's marriage must have occurred after 63 A.D. Berenice soon left him¹ and returned to her brother Herod Agrippa, and in A.D. 68 her long intrigue with Titus began. Polemon, when thus deserted, abandoned the Jewish faith, as Josephus says.

Might not this desertion of Judaism have taken the form of approximation to Christianity? There is nothing improbable about this supposition. It is well known that the new faith spread in Asia Minor most rapidly among the circle of those pagans who had been attracted towards the Jewish synagogues and had acquired in this way some knowledge of a higher religion. Though Josephus seems

¹ Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* xx. 7. 3, says that she had been long a widow when she married Polemon, her first husband died in A.D. 41. Most writers assume that she had married and deserted him before she came with her brother to Caesarea and listened to St. Paul, *Acts* xxvi. 30; but there seems no reason for such an early date. This later date would effectually disprove the suggestion of some numismatists (rejected by Imhoof Blumer, Reinach, etc.) that Berenice and not Agrippina was represented by the female head on later coins of Polemon.

to attribute Polemon's proselytism entirely to greed, it looks probable that this account is due partly to prejudice, and the prejudice would be as easily explained if Polemon had abandoned Judaism for Christianity, as if he had merely relapsed into Paganism.

In the legend Polemius was converted, but Astreges was hostile, and they are both described as kings.

If the historical King Polemon adopted Christianity, or was even (like Sergius Paulus) favourably impressed by it, both the historical facts and the growth of legend would be explained and reconciled, and a new page in the history of early Christianity would be opened to us. Bartholomew, and not Paul, would rightly be called the Apostle of the Lycaonians, for the former went to the people who still bore that name politically (and among whom coins bearing their name ΛΥΚΑΟΝΕΣ were being struck at that time), while the latter addressed the Romanized cities of a Roman province.¹

Such was, perhaps (one might even say, probably), the historical germ of the legends. There is no probability that Bartholomew went to the north-eastern lands, Bosphorus, etc. Even Polemoniac Pontus was probably not Christianized until a later date. When a Christian Pontus is mentioned early, the Province Pontus is intended. In the third century, when Gregory Thaumaturgus went to Polemoniac Pontus, it is mentioned that there were only seventeen Christians in the country; and, though this is a mere fanciful detail, it preserves the real fact that Gregory went to a new country.² At all events it is of course impossible that Christianity spread into Bosphorus when

¹ In the *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii. p. 709, it is suggested that the Lycæones, to whom Bartholomew went, were a tribe in the heart of Phrygia (called the *Λυκάονες πρὸς ἔσθον* in inscriptions). This suggestion must be abandoned, for it loses the true historical memory that Bartholomew went to the Lycæones, while Paul went to the Province Galatia.

² See the article *Pontus* in Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, p. 18.

Polemon II. was king there (37-41 A.D.) or into Armenia when Artaxias ruled that country (A.D. 18-35).

The northern legends would arise later through the local name Polemoniacus, which persisted for two centuries after Polemon's time. There was always a tendency to seek a legendary connexion with some apostle, and Bartholomew, as connected with Polemon, was transferred to Polemoniacus and the adjoining lands; and obscure historical memories of Artaxias perhaps remained.

W. M. RAMSAY.

STUDIES IN THE "INNER LIFE" OF JESUS.

IX.

THE SCOPE OF THE MINISTRY.

1. IN fulfilment of His vocation as the Jewish Messiah Jesus had presented Himself in Jerusalem, but He found the leaders and teachers not prepared to welcome Him. His acceptance among the people He could not rely on, as their belief in Him rested solely on the witness of His miracles to His power. A further and fuller work of preparation had to be done; and, therefore, He, instead of entering at once on His own independent ministry, for a time continued the labours of the Baptist, His herald and forerunner. Yet even this effort threatened to hasten the conflict with the ecclesiastical authorities, which He knew to be inevitable, but which He desired to delay till His hour had come. Accordingly He withdrew to Galilee, probably with no definite intention to exercise a public ministry there, but desiring in retirement and quietness to wait His Father's leading. As He was passing through Samaria, His talk with the woman at the well opened the door of opportunity for a brief ministry. This incident presents for our consideration one of the most interesting and important problems of His life, *the Scope of His Ministry*.

2. Did Jesus think of Himself as the Messiah of the Jewish people only, or as also the Saviour of all mankind? If the former, was not Paul wrong in preaching the gospel to the Gentiles? If the latter, why did He as a rule restrict His efforts to Jews, and assume, with only a few exceptions, an attitude of aloofness to the Gentiles? As proofs of the view that Jesus regarded Himself as Jewish Messiah only, the following sayings have been quoted.

When he sent forth the twelve disciples on their first mission, He commanded them. "Go not into any way of the Gentiles; and enter not into any city of the Samaritans; but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Matt. x. 5-6). Twice He refused to cure the daughter of the Syro-phoenician woman in words which seem to express the narrowest Jewish exclusiveness. "I was not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel." "It is not meet to take the children's bread, and cast it to the dogs" (Matt. xv. 24, 26). Thrice in the Sermon on the Mount He expressed His disapproval of the limitation of the affections, the repetitions in the prayers, and the worldliness of the desires of the Gentiles (Matt. v. 47, vi. 7, 32). Regarding an erring brother He laid down the rule: "Let him be to thee as the Gentile and the publican" (Matt. xviii. 17). This evidence is not conclusive, as these sayings are capable of being explained without any such assumption. The spiritual immaturity of the disciples afforded sufficient reason for their being sent only to their fellow-countrymen, with whose opinions and sentiments they were already familiar, and in dealing with whom they would have much less difficulty than with strangers. Their racial and religious prejudices also made them unfit for a wider mission. Jesus' treatment of the Syro-phoenician woman is in connexion with the present subject of such crucial significance that it must at a later stage of this discussion receive more thorough consideration. The statements in the Sermon on the Mount deal with plain facts, and show no hostile attitude, but a friendly interest. His treatment of a publican shows what His treatment of a Gentile would be. He was called "the friend of publicans and sinners," and He called a publican to be a disciple. In advising that the erring brother should be treated as a publican or Gentile, we may be sure He intended not contemptuous indifference, but tender and earnest solicitude.

3. As evidence of the largeness of the sympathy of Jesus may be mentioned many words and deeds. He revealed Himself as Messiah to the Samaritan woman. He presented for admiration and imitation a Samaritan as an example of a true neighbour (Luke x. 33). He praised the gratitude of the Samaritan leper, who "returned to give glory to God" for his cure (Luke xvii. 18). He severely rebuked His disciples who desired to call down fire on the Samaritan village which refused to receive them. "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of" (Luke ix. 55). Of the Roman centurion's faith He declared, "I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel" (Matt. viii. 10). How gladly He welcomed the Syro-phoenician mother's witty answer: "O woman, great is thy faith" (Matt. xv. 28). The request of the Greeks at the feast drew from Him one of His most sublime and profound utterances (John xii. 20-24). The taunts of His enemies, that He was a Samaritan, and that He might preach to the Greeks (John vii. 35, viii. 48), gain significance, if not random shafts of malice, but deliberate charges, having some excuse in His treatment of Gentiles and Samaritans. Specially suggestive in helping us to define Jesus' conception of the scope of His ministry are His work in Samaria, His praise of the Gentile centurion and mother, and His address to the Greeks; and each of these incidents will now claim our closer study.

4. The arrangement of the Gospel of John probably gives to the ministry in Samaria (iv. 1-42) a greater prominence than actually belonged to it. It was not a part of any plan formed by Jesus. He went through Samaria, because there ran the shortest road from Jerusalem to Galilee. He sat down at the well, because He was weary. He asked for water, because He was thirsty. He, a Jew, spoke to her, a Samaritan, not because He meant to break down the barriers of racial and religious prejudice, but because His

large and free affection ignored these divisions among men, unless these were forced on His notice. In all these facts there was, however, Divine guidance. If we try to recover the connecting links in the conversation, we shall see how spontaneously, without calculation, Jesus was led step by step to His work in Samaria, which did not strictly belong to His vocation as Jewish Messiah, but proved an anticipation of the world-wide significance of His work as Saviour.

5. The woman herself forced on His attention the prejudices which divided Jew and Samaritan. That challenge of His action evoked the consciousness of the common spiritual needs of mankind, and of the satisfaction which He knew Himself capable of giving to them. The woman's persistent bigotry only strengthened in Him the desire to awaken in her, and then to still, the longings which belong to the human soul, whether Jewish or Samaritan. Although her intelligence was not enlightened, yet her interest was aroused, and, breaking the fetters of her exclusiveness, and yielding to the spell of His generosity, she desired the gift He offered. At this point He gave the conversation an unexpected direction in the command, "Go, call thy husband, and come hither." What reason can be found for this sudden change? If we are to infer the intention from the effect of the words, then there can be no doubt that the command was an appeal to the woman's conscience as a necessary preparation of the revelation of His grace. He meant her to face her sinful past, so that there might be awakened in her the craving for the forgiveness and the cleansing, which was the boon He wanted to bestow upon her.

6. This explanation necessarily assumes that Jesus knew so much of the woman's life as to be sure that the command would arouse her sense of guilt. His interest in her spiritual condition, and His desire to confer on her His

salvation, had called into exercise His capacity, at other times quiescent, of supernatural insight into the thoughts and feelings of those with whom He was dealing. But in recognizing such a power in Him, we must try to define its range. Did He know the whole inner history of those, the secrets of whose hearts were thus discovered to Him, or did there come to Him only an intuition of their thoughts and feelings at the moment of their converse with Him? On the broad ground of asserting as constantly and completely as possible His perfect humanity, His subjection to our limitations, in short, the reality of the Incarnation, the more probable conclusion is, that by this supernatural insight He only discovered as much of the inner life as was necessary for effectual spiritual dealing. There was without outward communication a transference to His consciousness of the contents of the consciousness of the person with whom He was in conversation. Accordingly the command would imply, that already the conscience of the woman had been aroused and her spirit troubled by the presence and appeal of Jesus. She was already anxiously pondering what He would think of her relationship, when His words startled her into confession. She did not reveal all her thoughts, but His answer showed her that none was hidden from Him. The exact number of the husbands from whom she had been divorced appears at first sight so trivial a detail, that it is more difficult to believe that the knowledge of it was included in His supernatural insight than to assume that His statement was general, and that the woman in reporting it made it so definite. But if the woman herself, as she stood before Him, was reviewing her own past life, and thinking in turn of the wrongs she had done her husbands, and if His supernatural insight consisted of a clear and full intuition of what was passing through another mind, then even the inclusion of this detail becomes intelligible and credible. Trivial it may seem to us, but to

the woman it was of great importance, and for that reason doubtless Jesus mentioned it. This miraculous endowment was not exercised in vain, for it led the woman to recognize His prophetic authority. Since He did exercise this power, and did not rely on His usual means of instruction and influence, we are justified in concluding that only thus could her submission to His efforts to save her be secured.

7. The conversation again assumes an unexpected direction. The woman, conscience-stricken, does not seek the assurance of forgiveness, or the means of escape from her sinful state, probably because she had no hope of help from the prophet whom she saw in Jesus. She tries to get away from this painful personal dealing to the discussion of a question which could neither hurt nor heal any conscience. Her revival of the old dispute between Jew and Samaritan about the acceptable place of worship led Him to that sublime and profound utterance (23-24) in which He declares the spiritual Fatherhood of God, the spirituality and sincerity of the worship which He requires, and consequently the removal of all local limitations in His worship. It is noteworthy how the bigotry of the woman at each stage of the conversation evoked in Him an ever fuller and clearer expression of spiritual universalism, surely an evidence of His freedom from, and antagonism to, all religious exclusiveness. Yet this statement is immediately preceded by words which seem at first sight to express very definitely and aggressively Jewish particularism. "Ye worship that which ye know not: we worship that which we know; for salvation is from the Jews." If we look more closely at the words we shall be led to correct our first impression. The Samaritans accepted only the Pentateuch as the revelation of God, and cut off their religious thought and life from the illumination and inspiration of the prophetic literature. They clung to an inadequate, and cast

off a more adequate conception. The conception which Jesus had just expressed was rooted in His own consciousness, and yet it had been in some measure anticipated by the teaching of the prophets, and in some degree the development of even His own consciousness had been stimulated by the study of the prophets. Jesus was simply stating a plain fact, the assertion of which was necessary to rebuke the prejudice and bigotry of the woman, and to secure her attention to, and her acceptance of, the teaching which He, a Jew, was giving to her. Further, the Samaritans did expect a Messiah, a prophet like unto Moses, who would deal with such ritual questions as the proper place of worship. But what she needed was a Saviour from sin. The prophets, whose teaching the Jews accepted, and the Samaritans rejected, contained the promise of such a salvation. It was this promise that Jesus knew He had come to fulfil, and He wanted to turn the thoughts of the woman away from all ritual questions, such as were in dispute between Jew and Samaritan, to the moral and religious question of salvation, of which the Jewish Scriptures had more to tell than the Samaritan. He recognized her claim to this salvation; and that He might bestow this gift upon her, He corrected what was defective in her thoughts and wishes. When she showed her readiness to accept the Messiah's teaching, whatever it might be, whether contrary to, or accordant with, her own opinions and desires, He confessed His Messiahship. This then was not a secret which He jealously guarded, but a revelation which He gladly and readily made, whenever He found a soil ready for the seed. This woman cherished the expectation of the Messiah. She had been awakened to a sense of her need of the salvation, which the Messiah was to bring. She evidently could be helped only by the certainty that the Messiah Himself was offering her His salvation. Therefore Jesus

met the need which He Himself had awakened to consciousness.

8. Not only the woman, but many others in the town of Sychar readily responded to the appeal of Jesus. His words to His disciples show His surprise that the harvest which they had a share in the joy of reaping should have followed so quickly on His own sowing of the seed in the heart of the woman, for which the soil had been far better prepared by her imperfect Samaritan beliefs than even He could have anticipated. The life of Jesus was full of bitter disappointments, and had few glad surprises. This ministry in Samaria was one of these. But its success raises two questions, to which we must seek some answer. Why did Jesus not continue His ministry longer, when its first results so exceeded His expectations? How is it that we do not hear in the later history of the effects of this effort among the Samaritans? The 39th verse at least suggests that the belief of many in Samaria as in Judæa rested on no solid foundation. If many Judeans believed, because they beheld "the signs which He did," many Samaritans believed "because of the word of the woman, who testified, He told me all things that ever I did." Although their personal contact with Jesus gave them fresh reasons for their faith, yet it does not seem to have transformed its essential character. Jesus could not place much reliance on a faith due to astonishment at His supernatural insight. Although he had found so great a readiness to respond to His appeal, yet He could not find that thorough preparedness of mind and heart among the Samaritans which He could look for among the few in Israel, who were waiting for "the redemption of Jerusalem." That during the brief span of His earthly ministry He might awaken the faith of those who were prepared to receive Him as Saviour and Lord, it was needful that He should concentrate His efforts on "the lost sheep of the house of Israel." Probably

the Samaritan field did not prove as fruitful as it at first appeared, and at least did not justify His withdrawal from the people, to whom, according to God's call, He had first been sent.

9. That the sympathy, interest, and affection of Jesus were not confined to the Jewish people, and that there was nevertheless an imperative necessity for restricting His ministry to it, is confirmed by other incidents. His commendation of the faith of the Roman centurion seems to throw some more light on the question. First of all it illustrates the largeness of His heart. The condition of the Gentiles, viewed even by His most sympathetic eye, held out little promise of spiritual capacity or excellence. Before He could have sowed the seed of the gospel among the Gentiles much labour in getting ready the soil would have been needed. He, therefore, did not attempt to address His ministry to the Gentiles with whom He came into contact. If, however, He met with any signs of spiritual discernment and aspiration in a Gentile, how ready He was to recognize their worth and to express their praise! The very severity of the judgment which He was compelled by facts to pronounce on the condition of the Gentiles threw into clearer and bolder relief this appreciation of the excellence of Gentile faith when as in this case He met with it. "I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel" (Matt. viii. 10). Secondly, if we inquire what there was, in the faith of the centurion, that was so highly approved by Jesus, we may get a suggestion of the reason why He thus restricted His ministry. Some hold that what surprised and pleased Him in the centurion's words was the belief expressed in His power to heal at a distance without His bodily presence. But this explanation, itself improbable, ignores two important points in the speech. The centurion is giving a reason why Jesus should not come under his roof. That He could work a

miracle at a distance is of course a reason why He should not take the trouble to go to the centurion's house. But it does not seem to be the sole reason in the centurion's mind. He recognizes as a reason that Jesus, as a Jew, might be unwilling to enter the house of a Gentile. (Compare the narrative of Peter's visit to Cornelius.) This is the first point ignored in this explanation. The second is this. The centurion confesses himself a man *under* as well as *in* authority. He ascribes to Jesus an authority over disease, but does not he also suggest that even He is under authority, and can exercise it only as He submits to it. While He can command disease, and it will obey Him, yet He Himself is under a command to do His work among Jews, being Himself a Jew. Any favour He may show a Gentile is admitted to be exceptional, and it is shown how it need not involve any setting aside of the necessary restrictions of His ministry. This brings the words of the centurion into closer correspondence with the words of the Syro-phoenician woman, which won a similar commendation. To the writer it seems at least more probable that what Jesus so warmly praised was such insight into the conditions and limitations under which He had to do His work.

10. If it be admitted that Jesus knew that His work lay among the Jews, it may still be urged, was it necessary that He should hold Himself quite so much aloof from the Gentiles? Could He not occasionally have ministered to Gentiles while making Jews His chief care? The story of the Syro-phoenician woman seems to offer an answer to that question. His refusal of the request of the disciples to grant her petition that she might be got rid of, in the words, "I was not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," and His repulse of the woman's approach in the saying, "It is not meet to take the children's bread and cast it to the dogs" (Matt. xv. 24-26), have caused

much bewilderment. It is no adequate explanation that Jesus wanted to be alone with His disciples that He might teach them, and was afraid of being again drawn into a healing ministry which might interfere with this purpose. The language of Jewish exclusiveness is not thus accounted for. But may not this be the explanation? He had gone beyond the borders of the "holy land" into the "unclean country" of the Gentiles. May not some of the disciples have objected to His leaving "the children" to go to "the dogs"? In His language He may not be expressing His own feelings or wishes, but simply echoing the opinions and sentiments of His disciples. To expose the evil of their Jewish exclusiveness He compels them to face all its consequences. A mother pleading for her daughter's cure must not only be refused her request, but must be rebuked for her arrogance, if this attitude is to be consistently maintained. While thus teaching the disciples a much-needed lesson, He, by using another word for dog, not offensive as the term which they had doubtless used, as well as by the look with which, and the tone in which, the words were uttered, encouraged the mother to press her request, and offered her a suggestion of the plea which could not be resisted. The disciples with all their prejudices would be made to feel by the woman's words that the kindness shown to domestic animals rebuked the inhumanity of their feelings towards the Gentiles. If the national arrogance of His disciples made it necessary for Him to find a special reason for showing kindness to a Gentile, we can understand why, that He might not estrange the Jews, but might keep open as long as possible the opportunity of winning them to faith in Him, He, although not sharing yet so far took account of, Jewish prejudice against the Gentiles. "That He might redeem them that were under the law," not only "was He born under the law," but He accepted as part of His bondage,

that He might free the bond, this Jewish exclusiveness.

11. Even when the Jews rejected Him He did not forsake but clung to them. He sought no way of escape from their hatred and cruelty. How suggestive in this connexion is His interview with the Greeks who sought to see Him (John xii. 20-24). Did the temptation present itself to Him, that, although rejected by the Jews, He might find acceptance among the Gentiles? Such a possibility His enemies seem to have admitted (vii. 35). The intense emotion which Jesus displayed on hearing the request, and the great significance He assigned to the incident show that the hope that the Gentiles would believe on Him though His own people had not believed, was not altogether new and strange to Him. But, as if to repel the temptation to seek His glorification among the Gentiles by some other way than by the sacrifice of Himself at the hands of the Jews, in a simple figure of speech, profound in its significance, He asserted the necessity of His death to the extension of His kingdom. He submitted to a Divine command to cleave unto His people, to offer Himself as their Messiah in the fulfilment of the promises of God as proof of God's fidelity, to force the issue of their acceptance or rejection of Him, and to abide the consequence of their rejection in His own death. For only by carrying out to the very end His vocation as Jewish Messiah, in accordance with prophecy, could He fulfil His larger call as Saviour of mankind. To sum up this discussion Jesus embraced all mankind in His love and grace; whenever the opportunity of showing His sympathy and giving His succour to Samaritans or Gentiles presented itself He gladly welcomed it; nevertheless He confined His ministry to the Jews, because the soil had been prepared by prophetic teaching for the seed of the Gospel, because the Divine promise to Israel bound Him who had

come to fulfil it to give Israel full opportunity of acceptance, because even Jewish prejudice had to be consulted lest any stumblingblock should be put in the way of faith, and because only by self-sacrifice could He bring salvation to Jew and Gentile alike.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

"ALL THINGS ARE YOURS."

(1 COR. III. 22.)

IN the section of the Epistle which is closed with these words, St. Paul is dealing with two subjects not apparently connected, which he weaves together in an interesting and characteristic way. These subjects are, the factions which had arisen in the Church at Corinth, and the allurements of Greek philosophy. To both he applies the principle summed up in the words "all things are yours." It is a principle which should rule out the spirit of faction from the Church; and which should make philosophy subservient to the higher wisdom, which is the endowment of the Christian.

The factions, which had arisen in the newly planted Church, must have caused the deepest concern to the Apostle. At the same time it might have been thought that his earnest appeal to his converts to be of one mind, to say the same thing, would have sufficed to stamp out this evil from the Christian community. Indeed the Apostle does certainly seem to dismiss this subject, and to proceed to another subject of vital importance to the theology of the Church, the danger namely of being drawn away from the simplicity of the gospel of Christ by the subtlety and pride of Greek philosophy. The transition is made in this way. In considering the question of schism, the thought comes to the Apostle's mind that he had not laid himself open to the charge of gaining adherents by baptizing the converts to the faith in Corinth. He might by so doing have created a distinction between those whom he had personally baptized and the rest. So he thanks God that with few exceptions he had baptized no one. The subject of baptism suggests the subject of preaching, and the subject of preaching leads the Apostle to state the basis

of the gospel which he taught, and the simplicity of it in contrast to the pagan philosophy with which he had come in contact in Athens, and on which he had failed to make much impression by the line of argument there adopted.

But in dealing with pagan philosophy and its dangers St. Paul does not forget the subject with which he started, the spirit of faction. He revives it in the course of the argument directed against a human philosophy.

He says at the opening of chapter iii., "I could not speak unto you as unto spiritual"—as to men possessing the *πνεῦμα* or Spirit of God—a gift which far transcends the highest attainment of the Greek philosopher—a gift too which ought to make impossible such party strife as now divided and humiliated the Church of Corinth.

It is a lofty argument which is pressed more closely still, "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?" (iii. 16).

This immeasurably great and precious possession lays the world at the feet of the followers of Jesus Christ. "Let no one glory in men. For all things are yours; whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come; all are yours; and ye are Christ's; and Christ is God's" (iii. 23). As applied to Greek philosophy this principle is the foundation of a new and distinctively Christian philosophy which is free to use the best results reached hitherto by the human mind, but at the same time is able by Divine illumination to penetrate more deeply into the secret meaning of life. It would have been a happy thing for Christian thought and dogma if this principle had been observed, and if human speculation had been used, but not allowed to dominate the beliefs of Christendom and to mould its doctrines.

Even more important for the future of Christianity is the application of this principle to the spirit of faction.

Although the divisions which existed in the Church in

Corinth were serious enough to be a source of danger and to call forth the warnings of the Apostle, it is possible that almost unconsciously we exaggerate in our own minds their character and importance. Certainly the contentions were not of a kind to threaten the Church with heretical teaching. To see this we have only to compare the language of the Apostle in this Epistle with that which he uses in the Epistle to the Galatians or in the Epistle to the Colossians, when great and vital truths of Christianity were at stake. To the Galatians he writes: "I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you unto the grace of Christ unto another gospel: which is not another; but there be some that trouble you, and would pervert the gospel of Christ" (Gal. i. 6-7). And to the Colossians: "Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ" (ii. 8).

In the first Epistle to the Corinthians there is no language approaching that in severity of tone or in presentiment of danger. Nor indeed, if we think of it, could there be. For however foolish and mistaken the Corinthians might be in ranging themselves in separate factions under the shelter of great names, there could be no suspicion of heresy or false teaching attached to the names of the chosen leaders; St. Paul himself, St. Peter, or Cephas, and Apollos, of whom St. Paul says at the end of his letter: "I besought him much to come unto you with the brethren; and it was not at all his wish to come now; but he will come when he shall have opportunity" (xvi. 12). No one of these great teachers could be accused of bringing false doctrines into the Church of Christ.

But one of these parties claimed in some exclusive way the right to call itself by the name of Christ Himself. In what sense this high claim was made, or what significance it had, we need not now inquire. But in all probability no

intentional error was involved as to the nature or character of the Christ. For in that case the Apostle would certainly have corrected such false teaching in express terms.

On the whole St. Paul had reason to be thankful for the spiritual condition of this newly founded Church in Corinth. He says at the beginning of his message to it : "I thank my God always concerning you for the grace of God which was given you in Christ Jesus ; that in every thing ye were enriched in Him, in all utterance, and in all knowledge, even as the testimony of Christ was confirmed in you ; so that ye come behind in no gift " (i. 4 foll.). These are words of high commendation hardly compatible with any deep-seated error or perversion of the gospel of Christ.

Still the Apostle's words convey a rebuke and warning needful for every age, and every branch of the Christian Church. And the words in which he sums up the argument, "All things are yours," enshrine a great principle widely applicable to our own lives and conduct, and to the solution of many questions, besides its immediate reference to the *σχίσματα* at Corinth.

The Apostle reminds his converts of the immense privilege which they enjoy—the inestimable gift which they possess by their union with Christ (i. 30), which places them on a level not only far above the uninspired wisdom of Greek philosophy, but also above all questions of faction or party in the Church of Christ. For the two arguments run concurrently through the first three chapters of this Epistle ; and the same determining principle is brought to bear on each. That principle is the implanted gift of God's Holy Spirit ; it is the indwelling Christ, who is made unto us "Wisdom from God" (i. 30) ; it is "the Spirit that searcheth all things" (ii. 10) ; it is "the mind of Christ" which as Christians we have (ii. 16) ; it is the Spirit of God dwelling in us, which makes of every Christian a

sanctuary of God, the innermost shrine of the temple in which God dwells (iii. 16). This is the great possession, which enables St. Paul to say to these young Christians : "All things are yours." This was the wonderful new truth revealed in Christ which was destined to revolutionize the world. It was the hidden manna, and the secret name in possession of which and in the knowledge of which all the glories and splendours and wisdom of that beautiful and refined Greek world, in which the Apostle and his converts lived, counted for nothing except so far as they could be used for Christ. The Christian is taught to look on all things as his own, and himself as Christ's ; all this vast inheritance therefore is to be used by him in the service of Christ, and consequently in the service of God.

As an argument addressed to a small and outwardly insignificant community, a large proportion of which were probably slaves, incapable of holding property, it is one of astonishing significance. The terms in which St. Paul reveals the secret of this possession indicate how wide and distant its influence would be ; "whether things present or things to come ; all are yours" ; the Christian slave held in his hand the future of the world's history. There is therefore no limit to the application of the principle.

For the moment the Apostle brings it into relation with the divisions in the Church. He is blaming his converts for the wrong use they had made of their teachers. They had placed themselves under those teachers ; they had become their disciples and followers, or at least had used their names, and had made them guides and leaders instead of claiming them as their possession to be brought into the service of Christ. And many a time in Christian history has the same mistake been made. Christians have forgotten the greatness of their endowment, and regarded men as masters, who were in reality their servants in Christ. Paul, Cephas and Apollos had each one gospel to preach,

and one only. But each taught the gospel in his own way, in accordance with his own individual gift, and his own religious experience. One laid greater emphasis on one truth, another on a different truth. Such difference is of course traceable in the books of the New Testament. It is the same gospel throughout, but there are different modes and aspects of teaching. St. Paul emphasizes the need of faith, St. James the need of work; St. Mark paints a vivid picture of the external life of the Saviour, St. John conveys to us the depths of His spiritual teaching. Different types of mind are attracted by different aspects of the truth.

And yet how indispensable is each sacred writer, and each record of our Lord's life and teaching. What a mistake it would be to say: "I am of St. Mark, and I am of St. John; or I am of St. Paul, and I of St. James." But this seems to have been what the Christians of Corinth did in their early enthusiasm for particular teachers. And over and over again it has been done in the Christian Church in despite of the Apostle's warning. Great teachers have arisen; a St. Augustine, a St. Francis, a St. Dominic, a Luther, a Calvin, a Wesley, a Pusey; and men have classed themselves under their names with enthusiasm and devotion and not without much spiritual profit in special ways and in special cases but on the whole to the detriment of the Church of Christ, as the Apostle foresaw through his divinely inspired intelligence.

What then would the Apostle have us do? Would he have us turn away from these great lights as they shine forth in successive ages, as guides in dark places, and true beacon towers in the Church of Christ? Far from it. St. Paul would say to us, "All things are yours"; use them in the name and in the service of Christ. Use these varied ministries for your soul's health; but remember you are Christ's; you do not belong to any preacher however

famous, or to any leader however prominent in the Church of Christ. You are the servant of Christ; and so far as any teacher helps you to serve Him better, so far as he enlightens your understanding of divine mysteries, so far as he suggests or practises a godly rule of discipline, use him for your soul's health, but do not be his blind follower or his slave, for "all things are yours."

The clearness of St. Paul's intuition is seen in this early warning against party feeling as distinct from erroneous teaching. And in view of what has happened in the history of the Church of Christ the precept which he applies to that feeling is of unspeakable value. For when men once take sides the tendency is to disparage all who do not agree with them, and to reject the whole of an opponent's teaching because they dissent from a part. But because all things are ours, we should try to bring all things into the service of Christ. And very often it is possible to learn much from a teacher, a Church or a system from which we have been accustomed to sever ourselves. Christians are beginning to discover or to re-discover this happier law in the religious life. There is far less of mutual recrimination than there used to be, and a far greater desire on the part of the different communities of Christians to understand one another; and for each to appropriate, and absorb that which is best and holiest in another's system. This is the more excellent way. It is a step towards the unity which the Apostle sets before us; and it is to put to practical use the lofty claim which the Apostle makes for us that, through Christ, "all things are ours."

ARTHUR CARR.

*THE FIRST EPISTLE OF ST. PETER AND THE
BOOK OF ENOCH.*

SEVERAL articles by Prof. Rendel Harris on the relation of the First Epistle of St. Peter to the Book of Enoch have appeared in recent numbers of the *EXPOSITOR*. In the last of these (April, 1902, p. 320), he asks me, in my future treatment of the "larger hope" to omit the passage in 1 Peter which speaks of the spirits in prison. If I were dealing with the question again from the dogmatic point of view, I should naturally adopt this counsel, and should also leave the meaning of the *descendit ad inferna* of the Creed entirely alone, for I thoroughly agree with Prof. Rendel Harris that the larger hope can safely be left to take care of itself, and is neither to be accepted on the authority of the New Testament nor of the Creed.

Neither have I, on the contrary, as Mr. Van Loon surmises (in the *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1902, p. 255, etc.), wished to save the *descendit*, and with it the whole Creed. I only believed that the article originally contained that doctrine, and must be historically understood as referring to it. I drew the inference from the passage in 1 Peter iii., which I certainly cannot explain as Prof. Harris does. And for that reason I must once more return to the question, especially as Prof. Harris himself at the close of his second article (Nov. 1901, p. 349) admitted that "There are still some serious difficulties to be faced, and the explanation of the whole passage requires to be taken up again and argued in detail."

First, however, we must consider another passage, which Prof. Harris uses in support of his exegesis of the "spirits in prison."

That passage is 1 Peter i. 12: "οἷς (sc. τοῖς προφήταις) ἀπεκαλύφθη, ὅτι οὐχ ἑαυτοῖς, ὑμῖν δὲ διηκόνουν αὐτὰ, ἃ νῦν

ἀνγγέλλη ὑμῖν"—“to whom (i.e. to the prophets) it was revealed that not unto themselves but unto you did they minister these things which have now been announced unto you.” Prof. Harris sees in this verse a quotation from the beginning of the Book of Enoch i. 2, which he sets out as follows :—*καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὴν νῦν γενεὰν διεννοούμεν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ πόρρω οὔσαν ἐγὼ λαλῶ*—“and not for the present generation was I contemplating, but I speak for a generation afar off.”

The idea is indeed the same in both instances, but a direct connexion between the two passages could only be established if we might read with Prof. Harris *διεννοοῦντο* for *διηκόνουν* in the First Epistle of Peter. This seems to me to be neither necessary nor possible, because

(1) *διηκόνουν* is not at all perplexing, but can be easily explained from the preceding passage, v. 10, etc. : “*περὶ ἧς σωτηρίας ἐξεζήτησαν καὶ ἐξηραύνησαν προφῆται . . . ἐραυνῶντες,*” etc.—“the salvation concerning which the prophets sought and searched diligently.”

(2) The continuation in v. 13 : “*διὸ ἀναζωσάμενοι τὰς ὀσφύας τῆς διανοίας ὑμῶν*”—“wherefore gird up the loins of your minds”—is quite intelligible without a preceding *διεννοοῦντο* : indeed if the *τῆς διανοίας ὑμῶν* is to be set against the *διανοεῖσθαι* of the prophets, *ὑμῶν* would have to be sharply emphasized.

It might be granted, however, that 1 Peter i. 12, if not exactly an extract from Enoch, still presented a close coincidence with it, if the idea there expressed were to be found in that passage and nowhere else. This, however, is not the case ; on the contrary, this was the view of prophecy which prevailed at the time. We know this from the Jewish Apocalypses, which the authors did not publish under their own names, but put into the mouths of famous men of the past, often introducing exact calculations with regard to the end.

Thus Dan. ix. 24, etc., resting on Jer. xxv. 11, xxix. 10, reckons the time from the beginning of the Exile to the end as seventy weeks of years, or 490 years. The Book of Enoch also (ch. lxxxix.) reckons that seventy shepherds or people's angels shall oppress Israel one after the other, and in chap. xciii., xci. 12-17, announces that ten weeks will elapse before the judgment. The view is therefore justified that the prophets searched what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify; but, as it is expressed elsewhere, we cannot maintain that 1 Peter i. 10, etc., was derived from one particular source. Still less have we a right to assert that the author of the Epistle elsewhere makes use of or quotes from Enoch, although* it is not impossible that he may have done so.

As a matter of fact 1 Peter iii. 19 has been often explained by reference to the Book of Enoch, for example by Spitta and Cramer. The latter believes that the passage was originally a marginal reference and that it should read: "*Ἐνὼχ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασιν πορευθεῖς ἐκήρυξεν*," etc., but he does not attempt to explain how this gloss originated. The proposal of Prof. Harris and Mr. James to read in the text itself "*ἐν ᾧ καὶ Ἐνὼχ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασιν πορευθεῖς ἐκήρυξεν*," etc., is decidedly preferable; but it also is surrounded by so many difficulties that we cannot see our way to adopting it.

The difficulty which Prof. Harris suggests (November, 1901, p. 349), viz., that Enoch could hardly have preached in the days of Noah, is in truth no difficulty at all, for, according to Enoch cvi. 1, etc., he survived until the birth of Noah, and indeed, according to the Samaritan text of Genesis v. 21, he lived 180 years after Noah's birth. There is, however, no truth in the idea that Enoch preached in the days of Noah; he preached to the spirits who in the days of Noah did not believe. This is the right translation, and these words afford a primary piece of evidence

against the whole interpretation which would apply the verse to the preaching of Enoch. Other proofs are not lacking to support it.

1. Although the *πνεύματα ἐν φυλακῇ* might be the angels who, according to Enoch i. 4, etc., were cast into prison, what follows would not be very applicable to them: "*ἀπειθήσασιν ποτε, ὅτε ἀπεξεδέχετο ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ μακροθυμία ἐν ἡμέραις Νῶε κατασκευαζομένης κιβωτοῦ*. For the building of the ark, in which, according to later tradition, the angels took part, ought not to have led the sons of God to repentance, but only men (as is pre-supposed in St. Matt. xxiv. 38, etc., and Heb. xi. 7). Especially the closing words, "*εἰς ἣν ὀλίγοι, τουτέστιν ὁκτὼ ψυχαὶ διεσώθησαν δι' ὕδατος*," which plainly throw light upon the unbelief of those *πνεύματα*, seem to prove without room for a shadow of doubt that the reference is to the souls of dead men only and not to angelic beings. The word *ποτέ* would also be incomprehensible on this assumption, as if Enoch had preached to the angels not long after the Flood; still less is it anywhere told of him that he preached in Hades to the souls of the unbelieving contemporaries of Noah. The exegesis of our passage put forward by Prof. Harris is here also untenable.

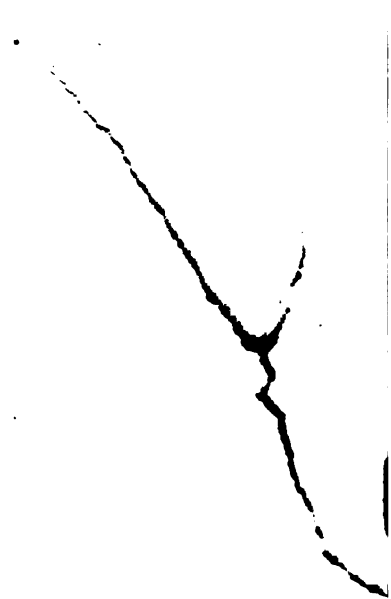
2. Even if *πνεύματα* could refer to the fallen angels, *ἐκήρυξεν* could not allude to that proclamation of judgment which is attributed to the patriarch in Enoch xii. For wherever *κηρύττειν* is used absolutely the reference is to the preaching of salvation; such a message, however—as we may gather from the passage quoted by Prof. Harris himself (November, 1901, p. 349)—Enoch did *not* deliver to the fallen angels.

3. Let me, however, assume for a moment that *ἐκήρυξεν* refers to the proclamation of doom and *πνεύματα* to the fallen angels. How in the world, I ask, can we explain the fact that the author of the First Epistle of Peter

happens to write in this place of the preaching of Enoch to the angels? In v. 17 he has declared that it is better to suffer for well-doing than for evil-doing, and in v. 18 he has given as an example the dying of Christ for our sins. Is it likely that he would pass on at once to speak of a proclamation of judgment delivered by Enoch to the angels? That would have neither rhyme nor reason and would open the way to the conjecture that v. 19, etc., are out of place. If, on the other hand, we cannot explain how these verses come to occupy their present position some other exegesis is required.

In my book, *Niedergefahren zu den Toten*, I have examined the subject, and I need not recapitulate my conclusions. I trust, however, that I have made it clear that Prof. Harris's exegesis of 1 Peter iii. 19, etc., and the alteration which he wishes to adopt in i. 12 are alike inadmissible.

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SPECIMEN OF A NEW TRANSLATION OF THE PROPHETS.

AN ideal translation of the Bible should possess, I suppose, four leading characteristics: it should be idiomatic, dignified, accurate, and clear. There are English versions of the Old Testament which possess undeniably the first two of these characteristics: there is none, unhappily (except for particular books), which possesses, as completely as it should do, the last two. Hence, unquestionable as is the superiority of the Revised Version to the Authorized Version, and greatly as it is to be desired that it may before long come generally to supersede it in the public services of the Church, there still seems room for a version which, even though made by a private hand, may nevertheless reproduce, more exactly than was found possible in the Revised Version, but at the same time without doing any violence to the English language, and in the same general literary style with which English Bible-readers have long been familiar, the meaning and force of the original. In such a version, the first two characteristics mentioned above, idiom and dignity, would be naturally secured by adhering as closely as possible to the language of the Authorized Version; in fact, this would be deviated from only when it was necessary in the interests of the third and fourth of the same characteristics, accuracy and clearness. By accuracy, I mean the representation of the force of the original as faithfully as grammar, and philology, and the study of the same word as it occurs in other passages, enable us to ascertain it, but without any such attempt to

reproduce grammatical or lexical minutiae as would result in unnatural English, or amount to pedantry. By clearness, I mean consistency and intelligibility in the sequence of tenses, the avoidance of ambiguous expressions, and especially the avoidance of words which, however familiar in the sixteenth century, are now either unknown, or have so changed their meaning as to be by the great majority of readers misunderstood.¹ The Bible, if it is not too bold to say so, should, I think, be accessible to English readers in a translation—not indeed “modernized” (in the sense in which this term is commonly understood), but—clear and accurate, and free from needless and misleading archaisms.²

Passages not unfrequently occur, especially in the poetical and prophetic books, which, sometimes from the nature of the allusions contained in them, sometimes from abrupt changes in the speakers, or in the line of thought, and sometimes also from other causes, an average reader finds it difficult to understand. It appears to me, I must own, that a plain and clear rendering of the Hebrew does much in many cases to alleviate this difficulty. At the same time, there remain undoubtedly passages where it does not remove it entirely; and where, for instance, brief headings, indicating the line of thought in the following paragraph, the use of inverted commas showing where words spoken begin and end, and a

¹ See the notes below on ii. 9, 32, 36 (footnote). “Strange” and “stranger” are, for instance, often used, even in R.V., in the sense of *foreign*, *foreigner*,—a sense which practically no one now would think of attributing to them. See also the note on *excellent*, and *excellency*, in Glossary I. of my *Parallel Psalter*, or, more fully, in *Joel and Amos*, p. 238, or *Daniel*, p. 33 f., in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools*. Words which are at all of a technical character should also, if it can possibly be done, be represented consistently by the same English word: for examples of the confusion arising from the neglect to do this, sometimes even in R.V., and in words of some importance, see the articles on *Creeping things* (notice especially the confusion in Lev. xi.), *Offering*, *Plain River*, *Stranger*, *Vale*, *Weights and Measures* (note at end), in *Hastings’ Dictionary of the Bible*; and the note on *sprinkle* in the *Speaker’s Commentary* on Leviticus, p. 499b.

² Archaisms which are not misleading should certainly be retained.

minimum of explanatory notes, referring to parallel passages or otherwise explaining allusions, the sense of which is not fairly apparent, would be of great assistance to the reader. In the passage which I have taken as a specimen,—and which presented itself to me simply because I have been recently reading this part of Jeremiah in my lectures,—I have accordingly added helps of this kind. In other respects I have followed generally, *mutatis mutandis*, the method adopted in my *Parallel Psalter*. I have naturally not been able to adhere throughout to the Massoretic text. That this text does not represent throughout the autographs of the Biblical writers, that more original readings are often preserved by the ancient Versions, particularly by the LXX., and that sometimes it is even necessary to emend it by conjecture are positions now so generally accepted by scholars, that there is no occasion to support them here by further argument. In the *application* of these principles there is indeed, and probably always will be, differences of opinion: scholars approach the problem from different points of view, and with different prepossessions, and cannot therefore be expected to agree uniformly in their results: the principle which, I venture to think, will most generally commend itself is that of giving the Hebrew text the general preference, and of deviating from it only where the grounds are cogent, and the advantage gained is unmistakeable and clear. In the translation which follows, where the reading adopted implies any deviation from the Massoretic text, the reader has always been apprised of the fact: some readings of the Versions, which, though worthy of note, and very possibly original, I nevertheless, for one reason or another, hesitated to take definitely into the text, I have mentioned in the footnotes. In difficult and uncertain passages, upon the interpretation of which different views may reasonably be held, it seems to me proper to give the alternative rendering on the margin: on the other

hand, alternative renderings, which possess only an antiquarian interest, I have excluded as unnecessary, and likely only to perplex a reader.

JEREMIAH II. 1-IV. 2.

The Verdict on Israel's History.

The Devotion and Happiness of Israel's Youth.

II.¹ And the word of Yahweh came to me, saying,² Go and cry in the ears of Jerusalem, saying, Thus saith Yahweh : I remember for thee the kindness of thy youth, the love of thine espousals, how thou didst follow after me in the wilderness, in a land that was not sown. ³ Israel was holiness unto Yahweh, the firstfruits of his produce : * all that devoured him were held guilty ; evil came upon them, saith Yahweh.

Israel's Ingratitude and Defection.

⁴ Hear ye the word of Yahweh, O house of Jacob, and all the families of the house of Israel : ⁵ Thus saith Yahweh, What unrighteousness did your fathers find in me that they went far from me, and followed after vanity,† and became vain ? ⁶ Neither said they, ' Where is Yahweh, who brought us up out of the land of Egypt, who led us through the wilderness, through a land of steppes and of pits, through a land of drought, and of the shadow of death, through a land that none passed through, and where no man dwelt ? ' ⁷ And I brought you into a garden-land, to eat the fruit thereof and the goodness thereof ; but when ye entered in, ye defiled my land, and made mine heritage an abomination. ⁸ The priests said not, ' Where is Yahweh ? ' and they that handle the law knew me not : the rulers‡ also transgressed§ against me, and the prophets prophesied by Baal, and walked after things that do not profit.|| ⁹ Wherefore I will still contend with you, saith Yahweh, and with your children's children will I contend. ¹⁰ For cross over to the isles of the Kitians¶ and see ; and send unto Kedar,** and consider diligently ; and see if there hath been such a thing. ¹¹ Hath a nation changed its gods, which yet are no gods ? but my

* His firstfruits from the field of the world, sacred to Him (Exod. 23. 19), and consequently not to be touched with impunity.

† I.e. vain gods (Deut. 32. 21). Cp. the same words in 2 Kings 17. 15.

‡ Heb. *shepherds*. See 3. 15, 23. 1, 2, 4.

§ Properly *rebelled*. So always.

|| Cp. 1 Sam. 12. 21.

¶ I.e. the people of Kition, a town in Cyprus (now *Larnaka*).

** A tribe dwelling at some distance from Palestine on the east.

people hath changed its glory for that which doth not profit. ¹² Be appalled, O ye heavens, at this; and shudder, yea, be very desolate,* saith Yahweh. ¹³ For my people have committed two evils: they have forsaken me the fountain of living† waters, and hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water.

The bitter Consequences of Israel's Unfaithfulness.

¹⁴ Is Israel a servant? is he a home-born (slave)? why is he become a prey? ¹⁵ The young lions roared upon him and yelled,‡ and they made his land waste: his cities have been burned up without inhabitant.§ ¹⁶ The children also of Noph and Tahpanhes|| do feed on¶ the crown of thy head. ¹⁷ Hath not thy forsaking of Yahweh thy God, when he led thee by the way, procured** this unto thee? ¹⁸ And now what hast thou to do with the way to Egypt, to drink the waters of the Shihor?†† or what hast thou to do with the way to Assyria, to drink the waters of the River?‡‡ ¹⁹ Thine own wickedness shall chastise thee, and thy backturnings shall reprove thee: know therefore and see that it is an evil thing and a bitter, that thou hast forsaken Yahweh thy God, and that no awe of me came unto thee, saith the Lord, Yahweh of hosts.

Israel's inveterate Propensity to Idolatry.

²⁰ For of old time thou§§ didst break thy yoke and burst thy thongs and thou saidst, 'I will not serve'; for upon every high hill and under every spreading tree thou didst bow thyself, playing the harlot.|||| ²¹ Yet I had planted thee as a choice vine, wholly a right seed: how then art thou turned into the degenerate shoots¶¶ of a foreign vine unto me? ²² For though thou wash thee with soda, and take thee much alkali,*** yet thine iniquity is ingrained before me, saith the Lord Yahweh. ²³ How canst thou say, 'I am not defiled, I have not gone

* Read perhaps, after LXX., and shudder exceedingly.

† I.e. running, fresh. See Lev. 13. 5, 50 (R.V.).

‡ Heb. gave out their voice.

§ Alluding probably to the destruction of the Northern Kingdom.

|| Two cities of Egypt (see Jer. 44. 1).

¶ Or, with other points, do break.

** So with a slight change. The Heb. text has, *Doth not . . . procure . . . ?*

†† I.e. the Nile. Cp. Isa. 23. 3.

‡‡ I.e. the Euphrates. See Exod. 23. 31 (R.V.).

§§ So LXX. Vulg. and virtually all moderns. The Heb. text, as pointed, has *I*

|||| Cp. Hos. 4. 13, 2 Kings 16. 4.

¶¶ The word rendered 'degenerate shoots' is doubtful.

*** The 'burnt' ashes of certain plants, which, mixed with water, were used by the ancients for washing purposes.

after the Baals ' ? see thy way in the Valley,* know what thou hast done: (thou art) a swift young she-camel, coursing hither and thither ; †
²⁴ as a wild ass ‡ used to the wilderness, she snuffeth up the wind in her desire; who can turn back her mating-time? none of them that seek her need weary themselves; in her month they can find her.
²⁵ Withhold thy foot from being unshod, and thy throat from thirst : § but thou saidst, ' There is no hope: no; for I have loved strange (gods), || and after them I will go.'

These gods will give no help in time of need.

²⁶ As a thief is ashamed when he is found, so shall the house of Israel shew shame; they, their kings, their princes, and their priests, and their prophets; ²⁷ which say to a stock, ' Thou art my father ' and to a stone, ' Thou hast brought me forth ' : for they have turned their back unto me, and not their face: but in the time of their trouble they will say, ' Arise and save us.' ²⁸ But where are thy gods that thou hast made thee? let them arise, if they can save thee in the time of thy trouble: for according to the number of thy cities are thy gods, O Judah.

Israel's persistent Refusal to listen to her Prophets.

²⁹ Wherefore do ye complain unto me? ye have all transgressed against me, saith Yahweh. ³⁰ In vain have I smitten your children; they received no correction: your own sword hath devoured your prophets, like a destroying lion. ³¹ O generation, see ye the word of Yahweh: Have I been a wilderness unto Israel? or a land of thick darkness? ¶ wherefore say my people, ' We roam at large; we will come no more unto thee?' ³² Can a maid forget her ornaments, or a bride her sash? yet my people have forgotten me days without number. ³³ How well thou directest thy way to seek love! therefore even the wicked women hast thou taught thy ways. ** ³⁴ Also in thy skirts †† is found the blood of the souls of the innocent poor: I have not found

* I.e. the Valley of the son of Hinnom: see 7. 31.

† Heb. *twisting her ways*.

‡ A wild, uncontrollable animal (Job 39. 5-8).

§ I.e. Do not run with such shameless haste after strange gods.

|| Cp. Deut. 32. 16.

¶ Heb. *darkness of Yah*, i.e. darkness so intense as to be regarded as specially sent by Yah: cf. Cant. 8. 6, R.V. But the expression is strange, when Yahweh is Himself the speaker; and perhaps a letter should be dropped, and *darkness* (alone) read.

** Or, *therefore hast thou trained thy ways even unto wickednesses*.

†† LXX. *in thy hands*. Cf. Isa. 1. 15, 59. 3.

it at the place of breaking in,* but upon all these (garments).† ³⁵ Yet thou saidst, 'I am innocent; surely his anger is turned from me.' Behold, I will enter into judgment with thee, because thou sayest, 'I have not sinned.' ³⁶ Why gaddest thou about so much to change thy way? thou shalt be put to shame by† Egypt also, as thou wast put to shame by Assyria. ³⁷ Thou shalt go forth from him also, with thine hands upon thine head: § for Yahweh hath rejected thy confidences, and thou shalt not prosper in them.

Judah compared to a faithless Wife, whose Promises of Amendment are but as empty Words.

III. ¹[And the word of Yahweh came to me],|| saying, If a man put away his wife, and she go from him, and become another man's, can he return unto her again? ¶ will not that land** be polluted? but thou hast played the harlot [with] many lovers; and (thinkest thou) to return unto me? saith Yahweh. ² Lift up thine eyes unto the bare heights, and see, where hast thou not been ravished? By the ways hast thou sat for them, as an¹Arabian in the wilderness; †† and thou hast polluted the land with thy whoredom and with thy wickedness. ³ And the showers have been withholden, and there hath been no spring rain; †† yet thou hadst a whore's forehead, thou refusedst to be abashed. ⁴ Hast thou not from but now cried unto me, 'My father, thou art the companion of my youth.' ⁵ Will he retain (his anger) for ever? will he keep it to the end? '§§ Behold, thou hast spoken (thus); but thou hast done evil things, and hast had thy way. |||

* In which case the shedding of blood might have been excusable. See Exod. 22. 2. *Breaking in* is properly *Digging in*: cf. Matt. 6., 19 R.V.m.

† Or (as moderns generally prefer), *thou didst not find them* (the poor) *breaking in* (Exod. 22. 2), *but because of all these things* (because of all this idolatry, thou hast committed such murders: see 19. 4-5).

‡ I.e. be disappointed of (viz. by the expected help failing). See the writer's *Parallel Psalter*, Glossary I., s.v. *ashamed*, to be.

§ I.e. thou wilt retire, repulsed and disappointed, from his presence-chamber.

|| These, or other similar words, have evidently accidentally fallen out here.

¶ See Dent. 24. 1-4.

** The land in which such adultery has taken place: cp. vv. 2 *end*, 19. LXX., however, followed by many moderns, has *that woman for that land*.

†† I.e. as eagerly as a Bedawi freebooter lying in wait for travellers.

‡‡ Which fell as a rule in March-April, and was necessary for maturing the crops.

§§ Alluding to the superficial amendment and unreal words of penitence, which had followed the reformation of Josiah (cf. 3. 10).

||| Heb. *hast been able* (or *hast prevailed*).

Judah contrasted unfavourably with Israel.

*⁶ And Yahweh said unto me in the days of Josiah the king, Hast thou seen that which backturning Israel did? she went up upon every high mountain and under every spreading tree, and there played † the harlot. † And I said, After she hath done all these things, she will return unto me. But she returned not. And her faithless sister Judah saw,⁸ yea, saw § that, for the whole cause that backturning Israel had committed adultery, I had put her away, and given her a bill of divorcement; || and yet faithless Judah her sister feared not, but she also went and played the harlot. ⁹ And it came to pass that through the lightness of her whoredom she polluted the land, ¶ and committed adultery with stones and with stocks. ¹⁰ And yet for all this faithless Judah ** hath not returned unto me with her whole heart, but feignedly, saith Yahweh.

An Offer of Pardon and Restoration, addressed to Israel.

¹¹ And Yahweh said unto me, Backturning Israel hath justified herself †† more than faithless Judah. ¹² Go and proclaim these words toward the north, and say, Return, thou backturning Israel, saith Yahweh; I will not look in anger †† upon you: for I am merciful, saith Yahweh, I will not keep (anger) for ever. ¹³ Only acknowledge §§ thine iniquity, that thou hast transgressed against Yahweh thy God, and hast scattered thy ways to strange (gods) under every spreading tree, and ye have not hearkened unto my voice, saith Yahweh, ¹⁴ Return, O backturning children, saith 'Yahweh; for I am a husband unto you: and I will take you one from a city, and two from a family, and I will bring you to Zion: ¹⁵ and I will

* Vv. 6-18 (in which Judah and Israel are *contrasted*) seem to introduce a thought foreign both to 2. 1-3. 5, and to 3. 19-4. 2; and have probably been introduced here from a different context.

† So, with a slight change. The Hebrew text has *thou* (fem.) *playedst*.

‡ Cf. Hos. 4. 13.

§ So Pesh., and most moderns. The Heb. text has, *and I saw* (one letter different).

|| See Deut. 24. 1, 3.

¶ So Targ. Pesh. Vulg. The Hebrew text, as pointed, can only be rendered, *was polluted with the land*.

** So LXX. The Heb. text has, *her faithless sister Judah*.

†† Comp., in illustration of the relative sense of this expression, Ezek. 16. 51, 52; also Gen. 38. 26.

‡‡ Heb. *cause my countenance to fall*.

§§ Heb. *know*.

give you shepherds according to mine heart, which shall feed you* with knowledge and understanding. ¹⁶ And it shall come to pass, when ye be multiplied and increased in the land, in those days, saith Yahweh, they shall say no more, 'The ark of the covenant of Yahweh'; neither shall it come to mind: neither shall they remember it; neither shall they miss it; neither shall it be made any more. †

The future Glory of Jerusalem, in which Judah, as well as Israel, is ultimately to share.

¹⁷ At that time they shall call Jerusalem the throne of Yahweh; and all the nations shall be gathered unto it, ‡ because of the name of Yahweh, to Jerusalem: § neither shall they walk any more after the stubbornness of their evil heart. ¹⁸ In those days the house of Judah shall walk with the house of Israel, and they shall come together out of the land of the north to the land that I gave for an inheritance unto your fathers.

How Yahweh's gracious Purpose towards His People had been frustrated.

¹⁹ Yet § I had said, How (gladly) will I put thee among children, and give thee a pleasant land, the most beauteous heritage of the nations! || and I said, Ye will call me, 'My father,' and will not turn back from following me. ²⁰ But truly, (as) a woman departeth faithlessly from her lover, ¶ so have ye dealt faithlessly against me, O house of Israel, saith Yahweh.

*The Prophet pictures Judah's** future Penitence and Confession.*

²¹ A voice is heard upon the bare heights, the weeping of the supplications of the children of Israel: because they have perverted their way, they have forgotten Yahweh their God. ²² Return, O backturning children, I will heal your backturnings. 'Behold, we are come unto thee; for thou art Yahweh our God. ²³ Truly in vain is

* Lit. shall shepherd you.

† A visible symbol of Yahweh's presence, such as the ark, will not then be needed.

‡ LXX. omit these words. Pesh. omits 'to Jerusalem' alone.

§ Introducing a thought antithetic to 3. 1-5 (cf. 2. 21 after 2. 20; Am. 2. 9 after 2. 6-8), of which this verse, it seems, was once the immediate sequel.

|| Cp. Ezek. 20. 6, 15 ('the beauty of all lands').

¶ Heb. friend. So v. 1.

** Jeremiah addresses Judah here by the national name of 'Israel': cp. 2. 26, 5. 15, 18. 6.

the sound] upon* the hills, the tumult † on the mountains; ‡ truly in Yahweh our God is the salvation of Israel. ¹⁴ But the shameful thing § hath devoured the labour of our fathers from our youth; their flocks and their herds, their sons and their daughters. ²⁵ Let us lie down in our shame, and let our confusion cover us: for we have sinned against Yahweh our God, we and our fathers, from our youth even unto this day; and we have not hearkened unto the voice of Yahweh our God.'

The Spectacle of Judah's future Loyalty will lead the heathen Nations of the Earth to own Yahweh as their God.

IV. ¹ If thou returnest, O Israel, saith Yahweh, yea, returnest unto me; and if thou puttest away thy detestable things || out of my sight, and dost not wander; ¶ ² and if thou swearest, 'As Yahweh liveth,' in truth, in judgment, and in righteousness; ** then the nations shall bless themselves by him, †† and in him shall they glory.

NOTES EXPLANATORY OF SOME OF THE RENDERINGS ADOPTED.

ii. 3. *produce*. תְּבוּאָה denotes properly 'in-come,' used primarily of that which *comes in* annually in kind from the fields. In Leviticus 25. 15, 16 R.V., well rendered by *crops*; elsewhere by *increase*, sometimes also by *fruit(s)* or *revenue(s)*.

6. *steppes*. See PLAIN, § 6, in Hastings' *D.B.*

8. *rebelled*. The idea in נָסָה is not that of transgression against a law, but that of defection or revolt against a person. See 2 Kings 1. 1, 3. 5, 8. 22.

9. *Plead* has become a misleading rendering; for (unless it is used in a palpably forensic connexion) it suggests inevitably to a modern reader the idea of *entreat*, *intercede*. It is true, it always in A.V.

* Some word appears to have dropped out here, which is supplied by conjecture. The Heb. has simply *in vain from*.

† Or, *the throng*. The allusion is to the noisy orgies accompanying the idolatrous cults celebrated on the mountains (Hos. 4. 13, Ezek. 6. 13): cf. 1 Kings 18. 26-29.

‡ So with a change of one point. The Heb. text, as pointed, has, *the tumult the mountains*.

§ I.e. Baal. See 11. 13, Hos. 9. 10.

|| I.e. false gods, their rites, images, etc. Cp. Ezek. 5. 11, 7. 20; also (the Heb. being the same) 1 Kings 11. 5, 7, Jer. 7. 30, Zech. 9. 7.

¶ LXX., followed by Ew., Hitz., Cheyne, read, *and if thou puttest away thy detestable things out of thy mouth* [Zech. 9. 7], *and dost not wander from before me*.

** Contrast 5. 2, Isa. 48. 1.

†† See Isa. 65. 16.

means 'to argue for or against a cause' (Hastings, *s.v.*); but who is to know this, unless he happens to have been a student of Old English? A.V. itself has sometimes 'contend' (as Isa. 49. 25, 50. 8); and the American revisers have very reasonably preferred this in many cases where the English revisers have left 'plead' (see the App. to the R.V. of O.T., 'Classes of passages,' VII.). Cf. Hosea 2. 2.

12. הָרְבִי, 'be waste or desolate,' addressed to the heavens, is strange; but הִרְבָּה קֶאֱדָר (suggested by LXX.) is rather prosaic.

16. The mixture of metaphors is strange (a depastured, or devastated, country—for רעה = *feed on*, cf. Mic. 5. 6 [Heb. 5] R.V. m., where however, the use of the word is evidently determined by the 'shepherds' of the preceding verse), Jer. 6. 3 where the 'shepherds' must be fig. of foes—and a shaven head [cf. Isa. 7. 20]; though in the Heb., it may be observed, the 'crown of the head' is at least not the direct obj. of the verb, the more exact rend. being, 'depasture thee as to (or on) the crown of the head' (construction as Ps. 3. 8): and Duhm even calls *feed on* 'absurd.' However, Gesenius, Ewald, and Graf all accepted it; the last-named scholar urging against the alternative vocalization יִרְעֶנָּה, 'break thee' (Ps. 2. 9) 'on the crown of thy head,' that this would assert the absolute ruin of Judah (Ps. 68. 22), and consequently imply too much (especially as the tense used denotes properly 'keep breaking'). Hitzig on the other hand considered it clear that 'break' was the idea intended. The passage is evidently one of those on which the best authorities may differ widely. Duhm would adopt either יִרְעֶנָּה, 'break,' or יִשְׂרֶנָּה, 'lay bare, i.e. shave, the crown of thy head'; but we at least do not know whether עָרָה would have been used of laying bare the head, or whether, if it were so used, that it would, standing by itself, have denoted specifically the removal of the hair.

17. תַּעֲשֶׂה. Read with Giesebrecht עָשָׂה (the ת dittographed).

when he led thee by the way. The Heb. (lit. 'in the time of one leading thee by the way') is very peculiar (*Tenses*, § 135. 6, *Obs.* 2): perhaps the perf. הוֹלִיכָךְ should be read. Duhm suggests that בַּעַת מוֹלִיכֶךָ may be a corrupt anticipation of לֶךְ לִדְרוֹךְ. * The suggestion is a clever and attractive one; but the omission of these words makes the verse rather short and abrupt.

21. I should read (assuming סוֹרִי to be correct) either לִי לְסוֹרִי or לְסוֹרִי.

22. 'Alkali' (Arab.) means properly 'that which is burnt' (the same word *kali* in Heb. [קָלִי] signifies 'parched [corn]'). That the renderings 'soda' and 'alkali' are correct has been long known: see

* Comp. the very similar corrupt doublets in the recently recovered Heb. text of Ecclesiasticus (e.g. 31. 12).

Smith's *D.B.* s.v. *Soap*; Payne Smith in the *Speaker's Commentary*; or Plumptre in Bp. Ellicott's *Commentary*, *ad loc.* 'Lye' is a word which few now understand.

23. *twisting*. See the Targ. of Eccles. 1. 15 (נבר די סריכן אורחתיה) paraphr. of תִּשְׁתָּן (תִּשְׁתָּן); also 10. 3, Lam. 3. 59.

24. תִּשְׁתָּן. From תִּשְׁתָּן to *bring at the right time*=*to cause to meet* (Exod. 21. 13): hence properly, *right* or *opportune meeting*. With a different nuance, תִּשְׁתָּן (Judg. 14. 4)=*opportunity*.

29. *complain unto*. So, for the same word רִיב, Judg. 21. 22, A.V., R.V. American Revision, *contend with* (cf. on v. 9).

31. *roam at large*. The meaning is established by the Arabic. See Lane's *Arab. Lex.* p. 1183 f.

32. *attire* (A.V., R.V.) means here, as generally in Old English, *headband* (see Dr. Aldis Wright's *Dible Word-Book*): cf. the same English word in Ezek. 23. 15, and the verb in Lev. 16. 4. The Heb. word however means more probably something *bound on* like a 'sash' (so Isa. 3. 20, R.V.): notice the use of the cognate verb in Isa. 49. 18 (R.V. *gird*). As may be inferred from this passage and Isa. 49. 18, it was something worn specially by a bride.

34. LXX. *hands*. I.e. כַּנְפֵיךָ for כַּנְפֵיךָ. A decision between the two readings is difficult: comp. Giesebrecht's note.

I have not found it, etc. This rendering leaves less to be understood, and postulates an easier antithesis to 'not at the place of breaking in,' than that given in the footnote.

36. *gaddest thou about*. It is true, אָזַל (which is the usual Aramaic word for *to go*) in the four other passages in which it occurs in the Hebrew of the Old Testament means *to go away* rather than *to go about*; but it is doubtful whether this constitutes a sufficient ground for holding that it might not (like הִלֵּךְ) have the more general sense of *go, go about*. Giesebrecht and Duhm (after LXX. *κατεφρόνησας*) vocalize אִזְלִי, 'how greatly thou *makest light* of changing thy way!' i.e. how easily thou turnest from Assyria to Egypt!; but אִזְלִי, in the only other place in which it occurs in Hebrew (Lam. 1. 8), means specifically *to make light of* in the sense of *to treat as common, despise** (so also the Syr. *afel* אִזַּל), not *to make light of* in the sense of *to do easily*. However, אִזְלִי (אִזַּל) combines both ideas (2 Kings 3. 18; Gen. 16. 4, 5); so it is possible that אִזַּל may have done the same. Still, we do not *know* that it did so. There are uncertainties on both sides; but those on the side of אִזְלִי appear to me to preponderate.

* Comp. אִזַּל in Jer. 15. 19, Lam. 1. 11 (in both which passages 'vile' of A.V. R.V. is very misleading to a modern reader; for what is meant is 'vile' = Lat. *vilis*, *common*, *looked down upon*, not 'vile' as used in modern English. Cf. the unfortunate use of the same word in the Authorized Version of a more important passage, Phil. 3. 21).

37. Notice מֵאִתּ ('from *with*,' implying a *person*: Exod. 5. 20), not simply מִן (מִןּ). Egypt is personified in its ruler.

iii. 1. Read אֵת לֹא זִיתָּ לְיִתּ for לֹא זִיתָּ.

6-18. Stade's view of this passage still seems to me to be the most probable. The contradiction which Giesebrecht finds between 3. 1-5 and 3. 19-4. 2 seems to me to be sufficiently explained by the fact that 3. 1-5 describes the *actual* unreal penitence of the present, while 3. 19-4. 2 is an *ideal* description of the sincere repentance of the future.

6. *backturning*. The play on the two senses of שׁוּב, to *turn back* from Yahweh, and to *turn back* (or *return*) from false gods to Him, which runs through all this passage (as far as 4. 1) is lost by the rend. 'backsliding.' Moreover, 'backsliding' does not suggest with sufficient clearness that the face is turned *from* Yahweh.

is gone up, etc. As the reference is obviously to the Northern Kingdom, which had ceased to exist a century before Jeremiah's time, the rendering *is gone up* . . . and *hath played*, suggesting something recent and even present, yields an incorrect sense.

10. LXX. has simply *faithless Judah* in vv. 7, 8, 10. Perhaps indeed this was the original reading in each verse: in v. 10 it is distinctly preferable; for in 'her faithless sister Judah,' the pronoun would naturally be understood by a reader to refer to the subject of v. 9, which however is incorrect, as of course Judah is there meant. The omission of 'her sister' in v. 10 removes an element of confusion in the verse, while not in the least altering the general sense.

13. *hearkened unto*. More graphic, and also more faithful to the original, than 'obeyed'; and moreover often used elsewhere in A.V., R.V., for the same Hebrew. It is true, 'obeyed' is etymologically 'hearkened to,' but the sense has by long usage become obscured, and few English readers realize the fact, while many, it is certain, do not know it at all: in the Hebrew the meaning 'hearkened to' is apparent at once.

17. *because of*, etc. See Josh. 9. 9, Heb. and Engl.

20. The pregnant construction, 'is faithless from,' is of course fully justifiable in Hebrew; but LXX. have *els*, exactly as in clause *b*; and it is quite possible that בְּרַעַה should be read for מְרַעַה (on the frequent confusion of ב and מ in one stage of the Heb. script, as evidenced by the versions, see my *Notes on Samuel*, p. lxviii.) *

22. This—with ב for מ (see the last note)—seems the simplest correction, though naturally we have no guarantee that it is the right

* Where by no means all the examples are given which might be quoted: add, for instance, Deut. 1. 44, Obad. 21, Hab. 2. 4, Ezek. 16. 6, and esp. 48. 29 (where LXX. בְּנִחֻלָּה is certainly right for the meaningless מְנִחֻלָּה, and indeed virtually underlies A.V., R.V., 'for').

one. Giesebr. and Duhm, following the LXX., read, 'Truly in vain are the hills,' etc. (with ה for ב); but Heb. idiom would surely not say absolutely that 'the hills' were in vain, but would specify what it was in connexion with them that was in vain.

iv. 1. *wander* (i.e. wander aimlessly from Yahweh). It has been objected to this rendering that נָדָה (of Cain, Gen. 4. 12 ['fugitive']; of a bird, Prov. 26. 2; of fugitives from a captured country or city, Jer. 49. 30, 50. 3, 8) does not express the idea of wilful wandering about, but rather of being driven out; but, in view of the rarity with which the word occurs in Heb., it may be doubted whether this negative position can be sustained (note also Prov. 26. 2, of the aimless fittings of a bird). At any rate, if a doubt should be felt whether, standing alone, the word would have a moral connotation, the reading of LXX., 'and dost not wander from before me' (וּמִפְּנֵי לֹא תִנּוּד) for וּמִפְּנֵי לֹא תִנּוּד, quoted in the footnote, would go far to remove it; and the very slight alteration of תִּנּוּד to תִּנּוּד, 'and dost not roam at large'—the rare word used by Jeremiah himself in 2. 31—would remove it altogether.

detestable things. On this rend. of שְׂקוּצִים see the art. *Abomination* in Hastings' *D.B.*

S. R. DRIVER.

THE BASIS OF CHRISTIAN CERTAINTY.¹

THE ground of certainty in religion is a subject which has of late received very close attention from the thinking minds of Europe; and in our own country more works than one of a high order have been devoted to its elucidation. In countries like Germany and France, where Protestantism is confronted by Roman Catholicism, the disposition to raise this question is stimulated by the challenge of the Romish Church to Protestantism to produce its credentials, but the necessity lies far deeper: thoughtful and earnest minds cannot but ask, How can we be sure that our religion is true? It is only shallowness or recklessness that can long refrain from asking this question. The more

¹ Inaugural Lecture of the Chair of Church History and Opening Lecture of the Session at the United Free College of Aberdeen, October 15, 1902.

the issues, for time and eternity, involved in religion are realised, the more imperative must the desire become to be certain that we are building upon the rock and not upon the sand.

I.

The old answer of Protestantism was, that the Bible is the impregnable rock: we are certain of what we believe in religion because it stands written in the Word of God. By such proofs as the evidence from prophecy and the evidence from miracles it was demonstrated that the Bible is divine—this was the major premiss—and then it had only to be shown that any doctrine or statement is in the divine book, and it followed immediately that it must be true and certain. Even in so recent a work as the *Systematic Theology* of Dr. Charles Hodge, which for a time obtained so complete a sway in the churches of the Reformed name throughout the world, this was the position taken up; and the inspiration of the Bible was unhesitatingly assumed to be equivalent to inerrancy: indeed, it was expressly stated that the proved presence of any errors, of whatever kind, would vitiate the credibility of the whole.

But in recent years the position of the churches—even of those in which the name of Dr. Hodge is still held in veneration—has changed. Theologians are doubtful whether they ought to undertake to prove that there are no mistakes of any kind in the Bible, and in the general mind there has sprung up a widespread feeling that it may not be so certain as it was once thought to be, that, if anything is found in the Bible, it is *ipso facto* true. There are theologians who go further, and expressly argue that there do exist mistakes and contradictions in the Bible, but at the same time, they affirm that this in no degree lowers their belief in it as the infallible rule of faith and conduct; indeed, they maintain that, while they have

been discovering these imperfections in the Bible, their own reverence and affection for it have been continually increasing; and they are satisfied that the acknowledgment of a human element in the Scriptures, so far from prejudicing them in the eyes of the common man, would have the opposite effect, enabling him to admire the wisdom of the Divine Inspirer who has enshrined the eternal truth in an earthen vessel.

This confidence is not, indeed, universally shared. There are many who feel great difficulty in understanding how a book which is apparently careless in regard to some modes of truth should be absolutely trustworthy in others. Why does not the old rule of logic apply, *Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus*? I am not sure that the newer theology has realised how difficult a task it has on hand when it undertakes to prove that a book which exhibits a disregard of truthfulness as to fact and history is infallible in what it states about life and doctrine. At the same time, it is undeniable that the conviction of the Church about truth may be deep and still deepening while its own faith in the traditional method of proving it is giving way. There is nothing in theology so mutable as Apologetics. The arguments by which the Church recommends its convictions are dependent on changing conditions both in the Church and in the world; and the point from which the defence is directed may be abandoned without confidence in the citadel being in the least impaired. This is probably the case with belief in the Bible at the present time. It is probably true, as the representatives of a reverent criticism allege, that not only interest in the Bible but reverence for it, as a message from Heaven for salvation and as the unique guide to a holy life, is on the increase instead of on the wane, although the apologetic relied upon a short time ago to prove its divinity has been given up.

A favourite formula with those who are feeling their way to a doctrine of Scripture which will embrace all the ascertained facts is, that the Bible is independent of criticism. Criticism may, it is contended, find as many mistakes and contradictions and assume as late dates and as many authors for the different books of the Bible as it pleases, but this will in no way affect the kernel of revelation, which remains pure and sacrosanct amidst all the changes of opinion which scholarship can undergo. Frequently, however, as this maxim is repeated, it is misleading, because it is ambiguous.

There is a sense in which it certainly is not true. There is a criticism possible, and by no means only possible, but actually emerging from time to time, which would destroy the very foundations of Christian certainty, because evaporating all the facts which afford any reason for believing that there has appeared in the world a divine Redeemer at all. In what sense can it be alleged that the Bible is independent of a criticism like that of Strauss and Renan? Certainly not in the sense that the readers of the Bible could universally adopt these views of the Gospel history and still remain a Christian Church. I do not believe that the fantasticality of a critic of the Old Testament like Cheyne or the levity of a critic like Duhm could take possession of the Christian pulpit without emptying the churches; because the occupants of the pews would refuse to be parties to the pretence that documents deserving to be handled with such licence could have any claim to be the oracles of God.

No doubt, however, many who repeat the maxim, that the Bible is independent of criticism, merely intend to express thereby the conviction that the Bible has nothing to fear from a criticism which is sound and scientific, and that it will, by the force of its inherent truthfulness, ultimately convict and expose all critical views that are not

in accordance with fact and reason. They are expressing their conviction, formed from actual intercourse and traffic with the Bible, that it is akin to all that is noble, true and enduring, and therefore has no reason to fear the light.

In this sense the maxim is a valuable one; and it indicates whence the force of belief in the Bible is derived. The Scripture shines in its own light; and the true policy of the Church is to keep multitudes in actual contact with it; for the more any are in contact with it the more will their spiritual instincts be quickened, and the more quick these instincts are the more frequent and eager will recourse to the Bible be. The better and holier people become the more do they love the Bible; and the more they love it the better and holier do they become. Let the Spirit of God be working in the soul, and at once the voice of God will be heard speaking in the Word. Let men and women, in the arrangement of their own lives or in the management of public affairs, be earnestly desirous of divine direction, and they will hear from this book at every crisis an authentic voice saying, "This is the way, walk ye in it." When the awakened religious nature, going back, plants itself beside Christ in the Scriptures, it finds itself encompassed with such a warmth and radiance of truth that it ceases to ask questions because it is certain that this must be the native home of the spirit.

It is a remarkable circumstance that the ground on which the authority of Scripture is based in the symbolical books of our Church is not that on which Dr. Hodge, following the chiefs of post-Reformation orthodoxy, took his stand. The following is the answer in the Larger Catechism to the question, "How doth it appear that the Scriptures are the Word of God?" "The Scriptures manifest themselves to be the Word of God by their majesty and purity; by the consent of all the parts and the scope of the whole, which is to give all glory to God; by their light and power to

convince and convert sinners, to comfort and build up believers unto salvation ; but the Spirit of God bearing witness by and with the Scriptures in the heart of man is alone able fully to persuade it, that they are the very Word of God." It is on positive foundations such as these that the Protestant theory of Scripture must be rebuilt ; and, when so much that is merely negative is being advanced about the Bible, there ought to be no delay. If the traditional apologetic for the Scriptures be abandoned, it will be the urgent duty of the Church to invent a new one ; for it is a perilous want when the common man is not able to give a prompt and plain reason for the hope that is in him.

II.

A second ground on which religious certainty has been based is the authority of past ages. What has been believed always, everywhere and by all must be true—it is astonishing how many Christians have been content with this as the foundation of their faith. The Greek Church, which comprehends over eighty millions of adherents, practically reposes on the faith of the early centuries and prides itself on neither requiring nor desiring any change. To it the restless movement which goes on in the Protestant world, every decade evolving new opinions, appears a form of insanity : hundreds of years ago the fathers ascertained and codified the truth, what advantage would there be in departing from that which is already perfect ? In the Church of England there is a strong disposition to ascribe normative authority to what is called the Undivided Church, that is, to the opinions of the Fathers and the decisions of the Councils before the Church was split into the divisions of East and West—the more extreme adherents of the party sometimes allowing themselves to speak even of the Scriptures in a tone of disparagement, when these are quoted in criticism of the teaching and usages of the first

six or eight centuries, to which they pin their faith. But of course it is in the Romish Church that this tendency has been most fully carried out. Not only is equal authority with that of Scripture ascribed to the Fathers and the Councils in her creed; but there has been developed in recent times, by such writers as Möhler and Newman, a theory of the development of doctrine by which all the changes of belief and custom in that Church are attributed to the Holy Spirit; and this theory has been crowned by the solemn decision of the Vatican Council, that the Pope has the power of sealing every stage of this development, as the time becomes ripe, by declaring with infallible certainty what is truth.

This is a singular extreme to which to carry the principle of the authority of tradition; and one would suppose the age of the world in which it has been broached to be singularly inappropriate. There was once a time when Rome was so inaccessible and the Pope so distant from the great mass of the Christian world that it was comparatively easy to surround the head of the Church with a reverence almost amounting to deification; but Italy is now, through the multiplication of the facilities of travel, a highway over which every cultivated person passes, and the fierce light of publicity shines even on the Pope. Everyone knows what kind of man Pío Nono was, during whose pontificate this extraordinary decree was promulgated, and it requires an amount of credulity difficult in these realistic times to command to connect the notion of infallibility with a character so common. The glare of historical research is falling more and more unsparingly on the preceding occupants of the papal chair, and no mode of distinguishing between the office and the occupant of it can do much to mitigate the absurdity of supposing that infallible insight into truth can have been the prerogative of some of these. In fact, the doctrine of papal infallibility has erected an insuperable

barrier, which will be felt with ever increasing poignancy as time goes on, between the Christian religion, as represented by the Romish Church, and the intellect of the world.

At the same time, the principle to which such grotesque expression has been given by the Romish Church is a true one. There is a legitimate sanction which the truth derives from the fact that many centuries have believed in it and lived upon it; and the attempt, of which we are hearing so much at present, to push the nineteen Christian centuries entirely aside and go back totally untrammelled to the original documents of our religion is one to which only a modified assent can be given.

Here, for example, is the way in which the late Dr. Martineau sums up his view of the history of Christianity in a well known work on the subject we are now discussing :

"As I look back on the foregoing discussions, a conclusion is forced upon me on which I cannot dwell without pain and dismay, viz., that Christianity, as defined or understood in all the churches which formulate it, has been mainly evolved from what is transient and perishable in its sources, what is unhistorical in its traditions, mythological in its preconceptions, and misapprehended in the oracles of its prophets. From the fable of Eden to the imagination of the last trumpet, the whole story of the divine order of the world is dislocated and deformed. The blight of birth-sin with its involuntary perdition; the scheme of expiatory redemption with its vicarious salvation: the incarnation with its low postulates of the relation between God and man, and its unworkable doctrine of two natures in one person; the official transmission of grace through material elements in the keeping of a consecrated corporation; the second coming of Christ to summon the dead and part the sheep from the goats at the general judgment—all are the growth of a mythical literature, or Messianic dreams, or Pharisaic theology, or sacramental superstition, or of popular apotheosis. And so nearly do these vain imaginations preoccupy the creeds that not a moral or spiritual element finds entrance there except 'the forgiveness of sins.'"

That is to say, the conclusion of this eminent writer is that Jesus Christ has been entirely misconceived from the very first; that Christianity has rested its claims from the beginning on an interpretation of its Founder.

wholly false and mistaken ; and that of the attempts that have been made by means of the creeds, put together by fathers and councils and used in the most solemn acts of worship by millions of people throughout the centuries, only a single sentence is right, all the rest forming a compound of superstition. If this were really the case, what hope would there be of attempting to understand Christianity at this time of day ? The men of the present age are only men ; we cannot flatter ourselves that our intellects are more penetrating or our hearts more sincere than those that have been devoted to the apprehension of the meaning of Christianity in the centuries before our own ; and, if these failed in a manner so absolute, what hope is there that we shall be successful ? I venture to say that, if it could be proved that Jesus and His teaching had been so entirely misapprehended for two thousand years, it would be far better for the human race to drop Him altogether and make a new beginning without entanglement with a history which would have been proved to be so liable to misunderstanding.

We do not require, with the Church of Rome, to believe that no mistakes have been made. On the contrary, error has often been admitted through human weakness, and epochs of appalling corruption have marred the history through human sin. It is no wonder that the truth was not always found ; for often men were seeking it not for its own sake but as a means of maintaining their own ascendancy ; it is no wonder that popes and councils often erred, when it is considered what popes and councils often were. But, when men were seeking the truth with their whole heart and soul and strength and mind, is it credible that they not only erred but erred wholesale ? We dare to assert, on the contrary, that God has never said to any, " Seek ye Me in vain," and that Christ has always been accessible to the upright and the humble. The Church did not begin by totally misunderstanding her Lord, and

it has not been a false Messiah she has preached to the centuries. There has been a development of doctrine, though it has not pursued the unbroken course which the Church of Rome pretends. There has been an apostolic succession, though it has not depended for its continuity on popes and bishops or on the virtue of clerical orders. There has been a real presence, though it has not been produced by any priestly incantation, and though the mass has no sanction in the teaching of Jesus. Christ did not forsake His cause when He quitted this world; in every age He has been present wherever two or three have been gathered together in His name; His Spirit has been inspiring, comforting and guiding all who have looked to Him for assistance; and the religion of Jesus is better understood today than it has ever been before. For nearly two thousand years Christianity has been the animating principle of history. It has lifted the human race from the low levels of paganism to the table-land on which it marches today; it has given to the common man the sense of his dignity as a son of God, and to womanhood and childhood the consecration they now enjoy; the nations which have been formed by its teaching occupy the front rank in the march of progress; the finest minds of the modern world have acknowledged its reasonableness and the finest characters have been inspired by its spirit. In the thoughtful book on this subject published a few years ago by the present Prime Minister we see the impression produced by facts like these on the mind of a statesman; and, while it is a degrading thing to hand over to any external authority the function of thinking or believing for us, it is no sign of breadth of view, but the opposite, to act as if we were the first who had ever begun to apply our minds to the subject of Christianity.

III.

A third ground on which certainty has been rested is Christian experience.

At the Reformation men were conscious of such an emancipation from the tyranny of tradition, and they enjoyed so keen a sense of immediate contact with the actual objects of religion, that it was not easy for them to measure exactly how far the new movement was able to carry them, and it is no wonder if the expectations of ardent spirits transcended the limits that are set to human nature. Some went so far as to believe themselves favoured with an illumination which left even the Bible far behind. We live, they said, in the epoch of the Spirit, and, if the Spirit inspired the prophets and apostles who wrote the Bible, why should He not inspire us with more advanced revelations? What reason is there to believe the canon of revelation to be closed? to fix such a limit is merely an act of unbelief; but, if we have faith, the hand of the Almighty is not shortened. In the same way, in our own day, there are those who are asking why the age of miracles should be supposed to be past. If by the hands of apostles signs and wonders were wrought in the primitive ages, to clear the pathway for Christianity, why should not the same authentication accompany the religion of Christ now, when it is trying to break into new territory? If Jesus in the days of His humiliation displayed the mastery over disease and distributed health wherever He went, why should He not exert the same powers now from heaven? Did He not say, when He was leaving the earth, "He that believeth on Me the works which I do shall he do also, and greater works than these shall he do, because I go unto My Father?" It is easier to ask such questions as these than to answer them. Yet it seems certain that in the divine economy of the world an epoch of revelation closed with the apostolic age which will never be transcended. There was a finality in the revelation of the Father and of the way of salvation through Christ to which nothing needs to be added. There is a sense in which the Scripture stands

forever above experience ; there is always more in the Bible than anyone has ever taken out of it ; and our salvation lies in approximation to its fulness.

It is less extravagant when the claim is made to transcend the experience of the period since the close of the apostolic age. Why should we not hope for an ampler blessing and a clearer light than were vouchsafed to a St. Augustine, an Aquinas or a Calvin ? There is in Protestantism a strong disposition to ignore the importance of the period between the close of the canon and the Reformation ; and I have already referred to the strength of the movement, at present so much heard of, to go back to Christ, disregarding all that has been thought about Him in the interval. But it is not in this spirit of contempt for others that the pursuit of truth is likely to be successful. Christianity is a uniting not a disintegrating force. It is of no private interpretation, but makes the individual conscious of an experience which he shares with others. Not only is the life of the individual derived from the community in the spiritual as well as in the natural order, but the life of the community is far richer than that of any individual can ever be, and is always able to furnish it with a programme of attainment which it has not yet made. The arrogance which wishes to be alone and refuses to recognise the attainments of others is always revenged by impoverishment. In philosophy the attempt has often been made to constitute the individual the measure of truth ; but a psychology which does not recognise the existence of other consciousnesses besides that of the individual is an affectation and is doomed to intellectual barrenness. And this principle is much more imperative in the sphere of religion, the very watchword of which is sympathy and fellowship.

In spite, however, of these exaggerations and dangers, the individual has his rights in religion, and personal experience possesses a unique value. There is a kind of certainty

arising from having oneself "tasted and seen" which on all the levels of knowledge, from the lowest physical one upwards, is felt to be of a superior order to that due to hearsay. Everyone recognises the difference between the man who has merely acquired the theory of any art and the man who has mastered the same by years of practice. It is one thing to learn what love is by the reading of romances and another to learn it by loving and being loved. Not less different is the knowledge of religion due to personal contact with the objects of religion from that due to the testimony of others ; and the true aim of all testimony on the subject is to lead us to acquire that knowledge for ourselves. Both the Bible and the Church have been far too often represented as making demands on the individual—demands to believe what they teach on pain of perdition. It is a far juster view of both to regard them as approaching the individual with promises that, if he seek God, he shall find Him. From prophets and apostles, from fathers and doctors comes the testimony, that, when in their sin and misery they stretched forth their hands, they encountered not vacancy, but a living God and Saviour ; and the intention of their testimony is not that we should adopt as our creed that which they regarded as true, but that, when, in the stress of our own life and the consciousness of our own misery, we lift our eyes to the hills, we should be able to do so with hope of finding what they found. And, if we have found it, our impressions of its reality and blessedness will be of the same nature as theirs. It may be mediated through their testimony, yet it will be immediate, the soul and God, the sinner and the Saviour, coming into direct contact ; and, when we are experiencing the blessedness of this union with the actual objects of the spiritual world, we can say to every witness, including even the Bible, "Now we believe, not because of thy saying, but we have heard Him ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world."

This personal and immediate contact with the spiritual world itself, and not merely with any authoritative record, is both the secret of religion and the soul of theology. It ought to be a constantly growing experience, for there is always more in God than anyone has made his own, and none have ever exhausted the unsearchable riches of Christ. These attainments of Christian experience are the equivalents of the statements of the Bible and the propositions of the creed ; but they are the Bible and the creed transmuted into meat and drink, so that they may become bone of a man's bone and flesh of his flesh. This is the certainty of which Luther used to say that on a dying bed it is not enough to be assured by even the angel Gabriel that our religion is true ; we must be as sure of it as that three and two are five or that an ell is longer than half-an-ell ; we must be so sure of it that, if the whole world declared it to be false, we could quietly and joyfully rest on our own conviction.

So perfect is the certainty begotten of personal experience that some have considered it independent of every other authority whatsoever. If, they reason, in my sin and misery I have been told of a supernatural deliverance and, accepting this testimony and seeking relief where it is to be found, I have obtained a God and Saviour so real and priceless that I whisper to myself every day, "The half had not been told me," of what consequence to me is now the authority of those who informed me of the possibility of making such a discovery ? The discovery itself makes all other authentication superfluous. It is even conceivable that false witnesses might indicate the way to a buried treasure ; but, if the treasure had been found, what would it matter to the happy discoverer if it were demonstrated that the character of his informants was unsatisfactory ? In the same way, what does it matter to me what may be proved against the authority of the Bible and the Church,

if I am rejoicing in the great salvation and finding the Saviour every day more precious ?

Such argumentation appears forcible, yet I fancy there is somewhere a flaw in it. Strongly at least as I believe in the reality of personal experience and in the immediate and joyful certainty which it produces, I have never been able to think that this certainty could survive, if the facts of the Gospel history were thoroughly undermined—if, for example, it could be proved that the supernatural birth and the bodily resurrection of our Lord were fables. It is a significant fact that the title of Dr. Dale's contribution to the subject now under discussion is *The Living Christ and the Four Gospels*. His purpose was to bring out the evidential value of the presence of the living Christ in the heart ; yet his masculine sense told him that this is only one hemisphere of the truth, the other being the truthfulness of the Gospel history.

On the other hand, however, the certainty of personal experience lends the strongest support both to the authority of the Church, which one has to acknowledge as the birth-place of one's own spiritual life, and to the authority of the Bible, the original witness to the existence of those forces which have made one what one is ; indeed, this may be so strong as to beget in the mind a prejudice, thoroughly reasoned and perfectly justified, against everything which would subvert the authority of the Church or the credibility of the Scriptures.

There are tens of thousands whose religious experience is the most certain of all the things they know ; and every year of their life it is becoming more certain. As they advance from one promise of the Bible and of the creed to another and find it true, not in the sense of its being well authenticated or logical, but in the sense that Christ is found to contain all that has been asserted about Him, the possibility that this Saviour should turn out to be

unreal, and the record of Him supplied by the Bible and the Church untrue, grows every day more unthinkable. All the reality, all the blessedness, all the glory of life are simply the conversion into experience of what the Bible has recorded and the Church has taught. To deny the reality of Christ would be to deny life itself; for "it is not I that live, but Christ liveth in me."

It is obvious to what conclusion the course of this reasoning is conducting us. The Bible has been declared to be the religion of Protestants; tradition is in the same sense the religion of Catholics; and the disposition of more recent times is to recognise in personal experience the sole and sufficient ground of certainty. But each of these views is one-sided. The certainty on which religion is suspended is a threefold cord, and it is a mistake to attempt to hang all the weight on a single strand. I will not say that each of the three grounds of certainty is equally secure. There is a sense in which the authority of Scripture is supreme; and there is a sense in which the authority of the Church transcends the experience of the individual; while, on the other hand, there is a kind of certainty inherent in personal experience far more reassuring than any external authority. But the three are intended to go together: religious truth is that which is revealed in the Scripture, borne witness to by the Church, and realised in individual experience.

These three sources of certainty correspond, it will be observed, with the three principal divisions of theology; for the exposition of the testimony of Scripture is the task of Exegetic Theology; the tradition of Christianity, throughout the centuries, is the theme of Historical Theology; and the scientific presentation of the contents of the Christian consciousness is the problem of Dogmatic Theology.

It is with the middle link of this threefold chain that this Chair is occupied, and it is the most laborious of them all; because not only is the literature of Historical Theology itself of vast extent, but, inasmuch as the scope of Church History embraces, besides the external organization and fortunes of the Church, the growth of its thought as well, the historical theologian would require, if it were possible, to acquaint himself with everything of importance that has been written in every branch of theology in every age. Of course this is out of the question, but approximation to it must be the endeavour of everyone who seeks conscientiously to fulfil the duties of such a position.

It cannot be claimed that hitherto the genius of our country has applied itself very sympathetically to this branch of study. On the contrary, while in Germany, for example, there never passes a month which does not witness the publication of some book on Luther or Melancthon or some other hero of Protestantism, or of a monograph on the ecclesiastical history of some particular city or province, publications of a similar kind in this country are few and far between; it is no unusual thing in our religious and ecclesiastical controversies to find points feebly argued by protagonists totally ignorant that the same points have been exhaustively discussed in the literature of our country in earlier times; and some of the foremost writers of the day, while incessantly quoting from the literature of the Continent, hardly display even an elementary acquaintance with the classical works of the theology of their own country. On the other hand, historical investigation in general is extremely characteristic of the spirit of the age, forming one phase of the passion for facts which has manifested itself in recent times in every department of knowledge. A thoroughly trained mind feels the necessity of ascertaining not only that a thing is, but how it has come to be what it is; and the more theology

is imbued with the scientific spirit, the more will everyone desire to know where exactly he stands in the historical development.

But the real hope of winning for the work of this Chair the sympathy and enthusiasm of the student lies in the recognition of it as having to do with one of the elements by which Christian certainty is constituted, and in the constant remembrance of the connexion of this element with the other two on which certainty depends.

Church History has been treated too much as if the development which it records had been purely a product of external circumstances and of human endeavours. Great men, it has been supposed, have made it by their intuitions and resolutions, and small men by their ambitions and intrigues. But the maker of history is God. It is Christ at the beginning of the history who has determined the development. The Church has grown from the seed of the Word. History is the unfolding of what was given to the world in Christ; it is the interpretation of the Scriptures not by the wit of man but by the ever changing and ever growing light of Providence. Man has not made history; but history has taken men up one by one, using them as its agents, and then has passed on to make use of others in the same way, gradually through their means unfolding the principles which have lain from the beginning at its heart.

And, as thus Church History is connected with the Scriptures on the one hand, so it is connected with Christian experience on the other. There is a sense in which Christ may be said to step straight out of the Scriptures into the heart; but is He not a greater and grander Christ when He comes into the heart not only out of the Scriptures but also along the avenue of history? If the strength and the health of Christian experience depend not only on the internal acts by which the Saviour is laid hold of, but also on the kind of Saviour He is believed to

be, the apprehension of Christ must be enlarged and enriched by the knowledge of what He has been to the generations that have gone before us.

Christ, however, not only comes into the heart but passes forth from it to others. He is on a journey and only touches at our door by the way. The whole of history is the march of Christ down through the ages. When He calls at our door, we join the triumphal procession, the subsequent progress of which becomes the aim and the inspiration of our lives. Church History ought to awaken a passion for the kingdom of God. It discloses the appalling contrast between the ideal and the actual—between what Christianity ought to have been and what it actually has been—but at the same time it shows how much has been accomplished; it reveals the figures of those who by their testimony, toil and martyrdom have so far stamped the image and superscription of Christ on the different departments of the life of man; and even from the very mistakes and errors of the past it learns to prescribe the path for the future. Among the colleges of our Church the one in Aberdeen has been hitherto distinguished for the number of men of ability and consecration it has sent forth into the mission field; and I should regard it as the greatest honour that could fall to this Chair during my occupancy of it if it should contribute to the continuance of this tradition. It ought to be exhilarating to be brought so close as we must be in a class of Church History to the great spirits of the past and to the movements of evangelisation and reform in which they were engaged; and, if in any degree their example enkindle imitation, the study of history will lead on to the making of history, and out of the knowledge of the past will be born the shape and body of the future.

JAMES STALKER.

STUDIES IN THE "INNER LIFE" OF JESUS.

X.

THE FUNCTION OF THE MIRACLES.

1. ON His return to Galilee from Judaea through Samaria Jesus was welcomed by the Galilaeans, as some of them had been witnesses of His brief ministry in Judaea, and had been as much impressed by His miracles as the Judaeans. The same distrust of the motive of their faith as had led Him not to commit Himself to the multitude in the South made Him take up a similar attitude of reserve in the North. The nobleman's request that He should come from Cana to Capernaum to work a cure, elicited an answer which shows how greatly He dreaded the same result of His miracles in Galilee as in Judaea, an interference with the fulfilment of His vocation by the desire of the people to get the benefits His supernatural power could confer, and a perversion of their faith in Him from surrender to His personal influence to surprise at His miraculous action. "Except ye see signs and wonders ye will in no wise believe" (John iv. 48). When the urgent plea of the Father showed that the appeal came from a soul in great need and deep distress, His pity conquered His doubt and fear about the possible effect of the miracle, and He promptly and confidently gave the assurance that the cure was granted. To evoke the faith which He ever desired, He bade the father undertake the homeward journey, relying solely and wholly on His words, "Thy son liveth"; and the suppliant stood the test. It is not necessary for the present purpose to discuss the critical question, whether the narrative (John iv. 43-54) is a varying tradition of the same incident as is reported in Matthew viii. 5-13, and Luke vii. 1-10, the cure of the centurion's servant, as we are meanwhile concerned only with the significance of the utterance of Jesus in relation to the *Function of the Miracles* in His Life and Work.

2. In the *Temptation* Jesus Himself was tested in regard to the use to be made of the supernatural power of the possession of which He seems first of all to have become conscious at His *Baptism*. During His ministry there were always many who wanted the succour and help of His miraculous power. Whenever genuine need and real suffering appealed to Him, He was always ready to give His aid ; and the plea was never addressed to His pity and grace in vain. But still there are some indications that He felt that these appeals for His compassion and assistance interfered with the fulfilment of His vocation. After a Sabbath evening spent in healing in Capernaum He escaped to a solitary place for prayer, and when urged by His disciples to return to the waiting multitudes, answered : " Let us go elsewhere into the next towns, that I may preach there also ; for to this end came I forth " (Mark i. 38). In preaching, rather than in healing He saw His calling. When at a later stage in the ministry this preaching to the multitude was gradually being abandoned, that He might devote Himself to the training of the Twelve, this popular desire for miracles did once and again interfere with His purpose. The retirement with the disciples after their first mission was invaded by the multitude, and although moved with compassion, He not only wrought cures, but even fed the hungry crowd ; yet on the morrow He rebuked their desire for a repetition of the miracle, and exhorted them to seek spiritual nourishment rather than physical sustenance (John vi. 26, 27). While the language of His refusal of the Syrophenician mother's request was probably intended (as was shown in the previous Study) as a rebuke of the Jewish exclusiveness of His disciples (Matt. xv. 24-27), yet it is not at all unlikely that His desire to be alone with His disciples that He might prepare them for His departure and their continuance of His work made Him at this time very unwilling to enter on any healing ministry among the Gentiles. If we

carefully read what is written between the lines in the Gospels, we shall probably come to the conclusion, that while on the one hand the sympathy of Jesus with human need, and His confidence in the Divine power in and through Him urged Him to work miracles ; yet, on the other hand, His desire not to confer temporal advantage only, but above all to communicate spiritual benefit, made Him hesitate about the exercise of supernatural power, as the popular desire that He should always be a Healer was opposed to His own purpose that He should ever be a Teacher.

3. By His miracles He did secure a kind of faith from the healed or the witnesses of the cures, but it was not the faith which He wanted or would accept. It was possible without any moral repentance or religious aspiration ; it might be cherished along with indulgence in sin, and indifference toward God ; it could be accepted by a superstitious spirit and a corrupt conscience, and leave the one as superstitious and the other as corrupt as before. Jesus appealed to reason with His truth, to conscience with His holiness, and to affection with His grace ; but He would not coerce the spirit of man by using the wonder or the terror which His miracles as acts of supernatural power evoked, to secure acceptance of His claims or allegiance to His cause. He knew how fickle and feeble at its best such a belief is, how soon it will yield to doubt, when its compelling cause ceases, and how incapable it is of sustaining the loyalty and devotion, and constraining the service and sacrifice, which, in the interests of the kingdom in conflict with the forces of the world, are necessary in all His disciples. In itself valueless, this belief was dangerous as hindering a genuine and intense faith. Hence during His ministry Jesus dreaded it as a result of His miracles.

4. Jesus steadily refused to work miracles as credentials of His mission, as evidences of His authority. When the priests, after the *Cleansing of the Temple*, demanded a sign,

the only sign which He would give them was the assurance of His spiritual power to restore the religion which they were destroying by their secular policy (John ii. 19). When the same demand was pressed upon Him in Galilee by scribes and Pharisees, He showed clearly His indignation at the request by describing those who made it as "a wicked and adulterous generation," and the only sign He offered was "the sign of Jonah," the call to repentance and the threat of judgment (Matt. xii. 39). (There seems to be little doubt that the reference of the sign to the Resurrection in verse 40, is inconsistent with the context, and intrinsically improbable. It is absent from the parallel passage in Luke xi. 29-32). It is true that He did appeal to the unbelieving Jews in Jerusalem to believe, if not Him, yet His works (John x. 38). It is doubtful whether He is here appealing to the miraculous character of His works or to the moral qualities which these works displayed, by which they betrayed their origin in the Father. But, even if the former view is taken, yet the context shows that He is not commending faith in His works instead of His person. This might be the best the Jews could offer; it was certainly not the best which for Himself He desired.

5. While we admit, as the evangelical records demand, that the popular desire for miracles did interfere with Jesus' fulfilment of His vocation, that the faith which the miracles evoked was not one on which He could rely, that He refused as a wicked and impure desire the demand that He should prove His claims by a sign, yet we must not, in our reaction from the old apologetic method, which gave the miracles of Jesus a foremost place among the evidences of the truth of Christianity, go to the opposite extreme of the critical position and assert, that "Jesus expressly repudiated the position of a worker of miracles" (Gardner's *A Historic View of the New Testament*, 155). For the narratives of the miracles are so woven into the texture of

the Gospels, that we cannot deny their substantial accuracy in these records without surrendering the testimony which they bear to the teaching and work of Jesus. And there are sayings of Jesus which give to the miracles a deep significance and a high value for the interpretation of His person. To a closer study of some of these let us now address ourselves. To begin with the most external aspects of the function of miracles in the ministry of Jesus, the report of the cures He wrought brought many men and women within the reach of His teaching, the range of His influence, who otherwise would have remained ignorant and indifferent. Not all who came to seek or to witness His healing stopped short at the belief in Him as a wonder-worker, which He condemned. Some of them came to know and trust the truth and grace which dwelt in Him. The imperfect belief served in some cases as the protecting husk for the developing kernel of genuine faith. While He refused to work a miracle to overcome unbelief, yet He allowed the confirmation of a genuine faith by a miracle, if necessary. The cure of the palsied man whom four friends brought into His presence seems to prove this (Mark ii. 1-12). The faith which Jesus approved was the desire of the sufferer and his helpers that his burdened conscience might be eased of its load; for Jesus did not give him something which he did not want as a preparation for getting what he did want, when He said, "Son, thy sins are forgiven thee." The usual supposition that the man needed forgiveness, although he did not wish it, more than a cure, and that Jesus therefore gave it him, is inadmissible. For His forgiveness of sin was always morally conditioned; it was not and could not be conferred where there was no desire for it, and the penitence for sin, and purpose of righteousness, without which forgiveness is not a benefit but an injury to the soul. A study of the cases in which faith gained His commendation justifies the supposition that He did not specially commend belief, however strong, in His power to

work miracles, but only the faith which included the recognition of the moral and spiritual conditions of His ministry. He approved the faith in this case because it was directed towards Himself, not as Healer, but as Saviour from sin. When His right to forgive sin was challenged, then it was needful for Him to assert His authority, not so much probably for the sake of the enemies who had thrown down the gage of battle, as for the sake of the man whose spiritual interests were at stake in the conflict. His faith, however genuine, might have been made to waver and fail by the challenge of the right of Jesus to forgive made by those who were regarded as the highest authorities in religion. Not only to confute His opponents, but still more that the sufferer might have in the cure of his body a proof of the saving of his soul, Jesus said, "Whether is easier to say to the sick of the palsy, Thy sins are forgiven; or to say, Arise, and take up thy bed, and walk? But that ye may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins (he saith to the sick of the palsy), I say unto thee, Arise, take up thy bed and go unto thy house" (Mark ii. 9-11). As it is probable that the miracle would have been wrought even if the challenge had been unmade, this case does not break the rule that Jesus did not work miracles to prove His claims. Need demanded, pity constrained the cure, to which there was then assigned the significance which the occasion required, a refutation of unbelief, and a confirmation of faith.

6. The miracles could serve as signs in the Seen of the power which Jesus exercised in the Unseen, and as a means of leading the thoughts of those who were helped by them, or were witnesses of them, from the Seen to the Unseen. They were a picture-language, or acted parables. The manifold forms of disease cured could lead men's thoughts to the varied manifestations and consequences of sin; while Jesus' power over even the worst forms of disease could

offer them a pledge of the almightiness of His grace. It was His aim in dealing with all whom He cured to lead their desires from the physical to the spiritual, from His healing action to His saving person. Hence the demand which He ever made for faith, not only in His ability, but also in His willingness to cure—faith not only in His power, but also in Himself as exercising it in pity, kindness, and love. When He found faith which showed insight into His character and purpose, as in the case of the Roman centurion and the Syrophenician mother, He was generous in praise. When the leper expressed his confidence in His power, but some distrust of His will in the request, "If Thou wilt, Thou canst make me clean," His words in answer, "I will; be thou made clean," not only met that doubt; but the tender touch on the diseased body, which had been a loathing and a dread to others, was doubtless intended to convey still more convincingly the assurance of affection (Mark i. 40, 41). When the father of the epileptic boy appealed to His compassion, but was uncertain of His ability, there is remonstrance in the echo of the distrustful words, "If Thou canst"; and confidence is opposed to diffidence in the assurance, "All things are possible to him that believeth" (Mark ix. 23). The faith of each of these suppliants needed completion: in the one, distrust of His pity, in the other, doubt of His power had to be removed. The woman who, coming behind, touched the hem of His robe, needed to be lifted above her belief in the magic virtue of His garments to the faith inspired by personal contact with Himself. If she had been allowed to steal away with her stolen cure, would not doubt and fear have visited her, lest the boon so suddenly snatched might as suddenly slip from her grasp? Only the look of His eyes and the tones of His voice, as He said to her, "Daughter, thy faith hath made thee whole; go in peace" (Luke viii. 48), could give her the perfect assurance of healing, as therein was revealed to

her, not only the power which was the means, but also the love which was the motive of her cure. Where this faith in Himself could not be evoked, there He did not exercise His power. Unbelief was a restraint upon Him. In Nazareth, where familiarity with His earthly relationships did breed contempt of His heavenly vocation, "He could do no mighty works, save that He laid His hands upon a few sick folk, and healed them. And He marvelled because of their unbelief" (Mark vi. 5, 6). The desire to evoke faith as a condition of cure is probably the reason for the use of other means than the spoken word in a few cases. The deaf man who had an impediment in his speech could not be awakened to a desire for healing, or confidence in Jesus' power to heal by any spoken words. But the touch of Jesus on his ears and tongue would suggest to his mind that a cure was being attempted, and would awaken in his heart the desire that it might succeed. Do the look to heaven and the sigh indicate that there was some hindrance to the cure in the indifference or the distrust of the sufferer (Mark vii. 33-34)? Similar considerations may apply to the case of the blind man (Mark viii. 23-25), whose partial cure was due to his imperfect faith, and could be only gradually completed as his faith developed. If we ask for the reasons for this insistence on faith as a condition of cure, the first which suggests itself is this, that Jesus came to deal with men personally. He desired the assent of the mind, the confidence of the heart, and the consent of the will to the exercise of His miraculous power on behalf of any sufferer. As far as possible every bodily cure must be accompanied by a spiritual change in the person cured. He claimed as His own, in trustfulness and thankfulness, all whom He helped. Thus His miraculous activity was kept in vital unity with His spiritual influence. He always acted as Healer so that at the same time He might prove Saviour.

7. There seems to be another, and less obvious reason for

this insistence on faith. There are some cases recorded where the person cured could not be expected to exercise faith, but faith was vicariously exercised by another. Thus the epileptic boy was not in a condition either to desire deliverance from his disorder, or to recognize in Jesus a deliverer; his father did intercede for him, but his intercession was made less potent by the unbelief struggling with the faith. "I believe, help Thou mine unbelief." Jesus had to overcome the hindrance of the father's unbelief instead of getting the help of his faith. The scribes standing around were sceptical and hostile; the multitude was inclined to unbelief on account of the disciples' failure; the disciples themselves were incapable of the exercise of faith. It was of this case that Jesus used the pregnant words, "This kind can come out by nothing save by prayer" (Mark ix. 24-29). In the case of the Syrophenician woman's daughter, the mother's faith had vicarious value. These instances suggest a law to which Jesus' miraculous activity was subject. Even as God's gifts of grace come in answer to prayer, and cannot be enjoyed where there is no desire for them, and even as God recognizes human solidarity, so that the prayer of the righteous man availeth much to bring blessing to others, so the working of miracles by Jesus was conditioned by the presence and potency of prayer for self or others. His miraculous power was no physical force, it was a reasonable and righteous will, in all its exercise morally and spiritually conditioned as God's rule of the world is. God's power must be invited by man's prayer.

8. We have still firm ground under our feet, when we take a step further, and affirm that the miracles were conditioned not only by the faith of the persons benefited, or those who interceded for them, but even by faith in Jesus Himself, His confidence in His Father's will and power to work in and through Him. The prayer to which He alluded in the case of the epileptic was not offered by the

sufferer, or by the father, or by the disciples ; Jesus Himself triumphed over all conflicting doubt in others by His own courageous faith. In the instance, already alluded to, of the heavenward glance and the sigh can there be any doubt that He was praying ? For here, too, unbelief had to be overcome by still stronger faith. When at the grave of Lazarus He was " moved with indignation in the spirit " (John xi. 33, R.V. margin), at the unbelief which pursued Him even to the grave of His friend, He gained confidence in prayer, as His words show : " Father, I thank Thee that Thou hearest Me " (v. 41). The words which follow—" I know that Thou hearest Me always "—may legitimately be taken as a proof that prayer was habitual with Him in the exercise of His supernatural power. We need not suppose that there was always explicit petition, but there was always the attitude of dependence on, confidence in, and submission to His Father, which is the essential feature in prayer. This spirit of prayer may have become articulate only in the face of unbelief to be overcome.

9. This conclusion, however, brings us only to the threshold of another inquiry regarding the relation of the miracles to the person of Jesus, about which it would be unbecomingly rashly to speculate, but fitting reverently to follow any guidance which the Gospels may offer us. The words, " Some one did touch Me, for I perceived that power had gone forth from Me " (Luke viii. 46), do, at first sight, appear to require the conclusion that His supernatural power was inherent in His physical organism, and was communicable by contact. The evangelical record does suggest that the communication of this inherent supernatural power was possible without consciousness of need, or volition to help. But do we not at once feel that this view gives to the miracles a magical character, and robs them of their moral meaning and religious worth ? Are we not, then, compelled to recognize the incompleteness of the

records, to remind ourselves that they often describe the outward appearance without interpreting to us the inward reality, which is its cause and reason? It is more in harmony with the ethical and spiritual method of Jesus to assume that by His sensitive sympathy He was able to distinguish in the woman's touch the appeal of need and faith from the indifferent pressure of the crowd upon Him, and that in the gracious generosity of His love He at once responded by a conscious and voluntary exercise of His power. If even in this case the power was used with clear knowledge and free will, we need not exclude from its exercise the factor of faith in God. The necessity of faith in Jesus Himself suggests another view of the relation of the miracles to His person. We may then conceive that the Father Himself wrought the miracle in and by the Son, and that Jesus by His wish to do good to others, His sympathetic love for man, and by His trust that His Father would fulfil that wish, His filial confidence in God, afforded in His person the needed channel for the Divine activity. The miracles then become not a proof of the supernatural endowment of the physical organism of Jesus, but an evidence of the filial union with God, so assured, and constant, and perfect that He could always command the resources of omnipresence, and omniscience and omnipotence for the furtherance of His work, and the fulfilment of His vocation. This view also makes more credible and intelligible the cures at a distance, since for the Father, as absolute God, space is no limitation; while for Jesus, as the Son Incarnate, space was a necessary condition of existence and activity. The nature-miracles reveal so far-reaching a control of natural forces, that doubt is relieved and faith is helped by seeing in them the immediate response of the Father to the confident appeal of the Son. His rebuke of His disciples on the stormy lake, "Why are ye fearful? have ye not yet faith?" (Mark iv. 40) might imply that He expected such faith in Himself

as would assure them of safety amid the greatest danger, but, as in His teaching trust in God's care and bounty is being often urged, it is more probable that He is rebuking distrust of God. The words "Peace, be still" are not a command to blasts and billows which had no ear to hear, and no will to obey, but a prayer to God of heroic triumphant certainty, that the response in the very request was already given. This explanation does not divorce the miracles from the person of Jesus, or lessen His grace or glory; for is not this filial consciousness and the absolute confidence which it inspired the supreme evidence that He lived in the Father and the Father in Him? The two views that Jesus had miraculous power, and that God acted supernaturally in Him are not contradictory but complementary. He had and used the power, but not as an isolated individuality apart from God, but as united to God by His filial relation, which, whatever may have been its metaphysical basis, was manifested in knowledge of, love for, and surrender to God as Father. His receptiveness and responsiveness to God made Him not occasionally, but permanently, the open channel of Divine power, wisdom, and grace. Thus the miracles too become evidences of the union of the Father and the Son.

10. The miracles are also a revelation of the relation of the Son of Man to His brethren. In the narratives there is nothing recorded inconsistent with moral perfection. In them we find the perfect features which perfectly combine in the portrait of the Sinless and Holy which the Gospels present to us. How sensitive was His sympathy; He felt the sorrows and pains which He comforted and cured. Matthew may not be quoting the prophet accurately, but he is certainly interpreting the spirit of Jesus correctly in the words, "Himself took our infirmities and bare our diseases" (viii. 17). A touch, however slight and swift, by a woman's hand in the thronging crowd awoke His sense of

another's need. How ready was His response ! When He needed to be entreated to heal, there was always some good reason for delay. Sometimes He offered His help before it was asked, as to the impotent man at Bethesda, and the man born blind (John v. 6, ix. 6). There was sacrifice in this service. We do not strain the meaning of the words when we find in Jesus' reference to the power which had gone out of Him a confession that His miracles did cost Him effort, did put a strain on Him, not only physical, but even spiritual ; for it is a universal law that the highest forms of service involve the largest measure of sacrifice, and that wherever God works most freely in any personality, there must be the fullest surrender. The miracles did not lessen the self-emptying of the Incarnation, for the conditions for the exercise of the power, intense sympathy with man, and absolute confidence in God, involved the expenditure of spiritual energy, bringing that sense of weakness and weariness, which all such use of the highest powers of the soul demands as its price. The Cross was the sign-manual of Jesus even on His miracles.

11. We may infer that no miracle would be wrought by Him on His own behalf. He could not, consistently with the human limitations accepted in the Incarnation, relieve His own needs, or shield Himself from danger by the use of His miraculous power. Even in this that He might save others He could not save Himself ; as He could minister to others He could not minister to Himself. This consideration may be applied in interpreting several incidents. It is improbable, for instance, that in procuring the ass for His entry into Jerusalem, or the upper room for His last Supper with His disciples He used any supernatural power of vision ; both incidents are explicable by previous arrangement with friends. For the same reason the words about the *stater* in the fish's mouth (Matt. xvii. 27) should be regarded as a figurative saying about the gains of fishing rather

than as the promise of a miracle. No miracle in His withdrawal from the mob at Nazareth (Luke iv. 30) should be assumed, only the controlling influence of a strong and calm personality over the fickle fury of a crowd. The calming of the storm, and the walking on the sea were not deliverances of Himself from danger; they taught lessons of trust to His disciples. The withering of the fig-tree (Matt. xxi. 18-22, Mark xi. 12-14, 20-24) is the most difficult of all the miracles to explain. Without taking refuge in the assumption that we have here a misunderstood parable (compare Luke xiii. 6-9), we must deny that the act showed impatience or indignation unworthy of His grace, but may suppose that, to impress His disciples, Jesus acted instead of speaking a parable, in symbol executed God's judgment on His unfruitful people. There was not only the severity of disregarded righteousness, but also the pathos of unrequited love and rejected grace in the deed. That miracle, rightly understood, also reveals the heart of Jesus, in which ever dwelt the love of the Eternal Father.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

ON THE MEANING AND SCOPE OF JEREMIAH VII. 22, 23.

(CONCLUSION.)

LIKE Hosea vi. 6a so Jeremiah vii. 22 has often been included in the list of passages in which נָלִי is said to express only a *relative negation*. Passing over the earlier representatives of this opinion I may mention only the latest. Giesebrecht, in the *Handcommentar*, on Jeremiah (1894), speaks of the "rhetorical character" of the passage vii. 22, and compares 1 Corinthians i. 17. Hommel¹ also would find in the same passage the clue to the correct in-

¹ *Die altisraelitische Ueberlieferung*, etc., 1897, p. 16.

terpretation of Jeremiah vii. 22. But the Apostle actually denies that he had received the commission to baptize. Finally, Von Orelli, in the *Kurzgefasster Commentar* on Jeremiah vii. 22, refers to chapter ii. 2. There we find, as a proclamation of Jehovah, the following: "I remember for thee the kindness of thy youth, the love of thine espousals," etc. Thus the fact is overlooked that the idolatrous people had hewn for themselves a graven image (Exodus xxxii. 1 ff.). But this "people" was not the whole People, and the dark features which characterized the historical picture of Israel's exodus are not expressly eliminated in Jeremiah ii. 2. On the contrary, the passage vii. 22 f. adds, as a positive assertion, the very opposite of the position that God had required sacrifices.

What then is the meaning of Jeremiah vii. 22?

All the factors in the text of this passage will receive due consideration if we find in it this meaning, that the *fundamental* legislation (*Grundgesetzgebung*) which was promulgated at the period of the Exodus did not contain instructions as to sacrifice. This sense of Jeremiah vii. 22 I have been the first to establish, inasmuch as I have shown the relation between the expression "with your fathers" and the historical circumstances which are narrated in Exodus xx. 19-21 and in Deuteronomy v. 1 ff. Of course the same interpretation has already and for long been aimed at. David Kimchi, for example, says on the passage: "It is possible to interpret it so that the root (=the main element) of the legislation did not concern burnt offering and slaughter offering, but that this root lay in the words 'Give ear unto My voice, then shall ye be My people,' and that under this condition He gave them the Law; and, in fact, there is not among all the Ten Commandments which form the sum of the whole Torah a single mention of either burnt or slaughter offering." But up till the present time it has not been possible

to derive this interpretation from the text. This interpretation, however, finds still further support in the Old Testament.

The emphasis upon the Ten Commandments (Exod. xxxiv. 28; Deut. iv. 13, x. 4) as the fundamental law is found even in Deuteronomy. For chapters vi.-xi. form an interpretative paraphrase of these basal principles. It was absolutely right and proper that those divine requirements should be emphasized which had been promulgated before the *whole* community. For it would have been incomprehensible why the Deity should have proclaimed a compendium of His requirements to the whole people and to them in the first place, unless these requirements had been intended to contain what we may call the Magna Carta of the constitution of the theocratic kingdom. But that did not involve the denial that other Divine commands existed.

The position is the same in regard to Jeremiah vii. 22. Beyond doubt the primary rank of those Divine ordinances which had been proclaimed before the representatives of the whole people is expressed in this passage. But that does not mean that these ordinances alone derive from the period of Israel's deliverance. For, *imprimis*, that is not stated in the passage itself, but the possibility is there left open that apart from the ordinances which were published before the whole people and therefore have a fundamental significance, yet other Divine commandments exist which were revealed in the first place to Moses. Nay, this passage itself actually suggests the possibility. For the words, "walk ye in all the way that I command you that it may be well with you" (23b) may just as well refer to Divine instructions which were mediated through Moses as to Divine teaching made known by his successors (Deut. xviii. 15-18, etc. Jer. vii. 25). Exactly the same distinction between two classes of Divine commandments

is met with outside this passage in Jeremiah. For in Exodus xx. 21 ff., and still more plainly in Deuteronomy v. 28 ff., reference is made to such instructions from God which were no longer proclaimed direct to the whole community, and which comprise the "whole way" by the keeping of which Israel can secure its well-being. How closely do Deuteronomy v. 30 and Jeremiah vii. 23b agree with one another in this point!

In any case, however, the words of Jeremiah vii. 22 f., as well as of the other passages to the same effect (Exod. xx. 19 ff.; Deut. v. 21 ff.), declare plainly that the Divine instructions which were not proclaimed directly in the presence of the representatives of the whole community have not the same fundamental authority as the Decalogue. And what content could those Divine instructions have had for the consciousness of Jeremiah, which had been only indirectly communicated to the people? Is it possible that in his judgment they referred to sacrificial worship? Even this reference may be contained in Jeremiah vii. 22 f., and is not positively excluded by the passage. But whether, according to Jeremiah, it was actually the case and what parts of the sacrificial directions of the Pentateuch were known to this prophet must be ascertained from his language elsewhere. This examination of the context of Jeremiah vii. 22 f. opens with very satisfactory success. For does not the interpretation of this passage which I have suggested at once find support in what immediately follows? Undoubtedly. That Divine requirement which Jeremiah vii. 23 sets forth as the sole standard certainly finds its continuation in the address of the prophet which is attached to it. In this, however, it is *morality* that is required. The inference is thereby established that Jeremiah regarded the religious moral principles as the basis and main content of the Divine legislation.

This interpretation of Jeremiah vii. 22 f. is further

supported by the wider context of the passage. For in vi. 20a we read: "To what purpose cometh there to me frankincense from Sheba?" etc. Now frankincense is mentioned as an ingredient in the "perfume" of Exodus xxx. 34 ff., etc., and also as an addition to the meal-offering in Leviticus ii. 1 ff., etc. It follows that the negative attitude of Jehovah towards incense could not have been expressed so absolutely in Jeremiah vi. 20a, if only those offerings were to be dispensed with which were presented by certain people. Thus in the words which follow, "your burnt offerings are not acceptable," etc., it is not possible to lay the emphasis upon the possessive pronoun "your." And this is further precluded by the sentence in ix. 24: "Let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth Me, that I am the Lord which exercise lovingkindness, judgement, and righteousness in the earth: for in these I delight." Thus no mention is made of any other object of the Divine satisfaction. Moreover, we read in xiv. 12, "Although they shall bring burnt offering and oblation yet have I no pleasure therein": so that here also no regard is had to the circumstance that God has ordained sacrifices by the offering of which sin may be covered and the favour of the Deity secured. And, further, in the fundamental passage on the "new covenant" no mention is made of sacrifices (xxxi. 31-34).

Neither does the interpretation of Jeremiah vii. 22 f. which I have set forth above conflict with those passages in Jeremiah which have frequently been adduced to show that *'al dibré* means "in reference to," and that *lô*, in vii. 22, involves an absolute negation. The series of such passages in Jeremiah begins with the sentence (xvii. 26), "and they shall come from the cities of Judah . . . bringing burnt offerings and sacrifices and oblations and frankincense, and bringing sacrifices of thanksgiving unto the house of the Lord." The offering of sacrifices is here

mentioned as an element in the worship which is to be practised under the future conditions of the Divine kingdom. But Jeremiah does not, as Rupprecht has recently asserted, "enjoin"¹ the offering of sacrifices as though these were commanded by God. Again, xxxi. 14a runs: "and I will satiate the soul of the priests with fatness," but neither does this contradict the interpretation of vii. 22 suggested above. For prophecy may also approve such elements in the constitution of the theocratic kingdom as are not fundamental to its constitution. And, again, Bredenkamp has remarked:² "Why does Jeremiah complain so bitterly" (xxxii. 34) that the Temple has become a den of thieves, and has been polluted by Israel with the abomination of idolatry? But the condemnatory remark which we read in this passage might have been made by Jeremiah even if he had not regarded the sacrifices as a direct and fundamental ordinance of God. Finally, in xxxiii. 11, there is mention made of those persons who say: "Give thanks to the Lord of Hosts, for the Lord is good," etc.; and there is similar language in verses 17 ff., 22. But still it remains one thing for any one to deny that the sacrificial laws belong to the fundamental legislation of God, and quite another thing for him to mention the sacrifices and the other acts of worship as a natural expression of piety.

In any case the following consideration must not be lost sight of. In the history of Israel prayers and sacrifices are recorded to have been offered by pious persons of the pre-Mosaic period without any mention of a direct Divine institution of either prayer or sacrifice. It certainly follows that it is at least possible that prayers and sacrifices were for the pious in Israel an expression of the piety aroused by some higher impulse of the human heart as a work

¹ E. Rupprecht, *Des (Pentateuch) Räthsel Lösung*, ii. 1 (1896), p. 229.

² Bredenkamp, *Gesetz und Propheten*, p. 106.

of God. Böhmer, therefore, is mistaken when he says: "If it follows from passages like Jeremiah vii. 22 that the prophets have no knowledge of any sacrificial legislation, then it is clear also from the same passages that they reject all sacrifices."¹ He has not borne in mind the sacrifices of the pre-Mosaic period. Much less do these four passages of the Book of Jeremiah stand in contradiction with that interpretation of Jeremiah vii. 22 which I have shown above to be the probable one.

It has been thought, however, that the possibility of this interpretation must be challenged on the ground that Jeremiah was acquainted with the Jehovistic and Deuteronomic part of the Pentateuch. For example, the view that *'al dibrê* has the sense of the objective "in regard to," and that the *lô* of vii. 22 involves an absolute negation, was objected to by Von Orelli in the following words: "In that case Jeremiah could not have known the so-called book of the Covenant with its sacrificial ordinances (Exod. xx. 24, xxiii. 18; cf. xxxiv. 25). Just as little could the Jehovistic narrative have been known to him, according to which Jehovah summoned His people to a sacrificial feast in the wilderness (Exod. v. 1, iii. 8). And Deuteronomy also, the Mosaic rank of which Jeremiah evidently champions, contains ordinances in reference to the sacrifices (Deut. xii. 6, xi. 13 f., 27)."² Some light is thrown upon these words of Orelli by the following considerations. The passage in Exodus xx. 24 speaks in a positive way only of the character of the altars which may be built for Jehovah. Further, the narrator, in Exodus v. 1 ff., mentions expressly as a word of Jehovah (verse 1) only the summons: "Let My people go that they may hold a feast unto Me in the wilderness." In like manner, in Deuteronomy xi. 6, xi. 13, the expressions "your burnt

¹ J. Böhmer, *Brennende Zeit- und Streitfragen der Kirche* (1897), p. 43.

² V. Orelli, *Kurzgefasster Commentar zu Jes. und Jer.*, p. 254.

offerings" and "thy burnt offerings" are selected. But at the same time God is actually mentioned as the Person who has ordained at least the subsidiary conditions of the presentation of offerings (Exod. xxiii. 18, xxxiv. 25; Deut. xii. 14b, 27). From these facts many have drawn the conclusion that the *lô* in Jeremiah vii. 22 cannot have its absolute sense.¹ This inference is groundless, however, if the interpretation of Jeremiah vii. 22 ff. which has been set forth above be accepted as the most probable. For, according to this interpretation, Jeremiah may have been acquainted with ancient regulations concerning the sacrifices, but he did not reckon them among the fundamental principles of the legitimate religion of Israel.

Once more, Giesebrecht, commenting on the passage, is of this opinion: "legislative codes such as the Jehovistic and the Deuteronomic are quite compatible with the declaration of Jeremiah, but not a legislation such as is contained in the 'Priestly Codex.'"² Even this assertion cannot be completely established by the assumption of "a rhetorical character in this prophetic passage." But the contradiction between Jeremiah vii. 22 ff. and Jeremiah's knowledge of the sacrificial regulations vanishes as soon as that construction of Jeremiah vii. 22 f., for which I have given reasons above, is accepted as correct. According to my interpretation, this sets aside only the primary rank, but not the existence, of the laws concerning sacrifice.

The exact measure of Jeremiah's knowledge of sacrificial regulations which had been handed down as divine and Mosaic, is another question. A sufficiently secure basis for the answering of it ought to be found in vi. 20a. For the question: "To what purpose cometh there to me frankincense from Sheba?" stands in contradiction to Exodus xxx.

¹ Marti, *ut supra*, p. 221; Köhler, *Lehrbuch der Biblischen Geschichte*, ii. 2, p. 27, and others.

² Giesebrecht, *Handcommentar zu Jer.* (1894) p. 49.

23b, 34 and Leviticus ii. 1 ff.; and it is indeed in the following passages alone that incense is mentioned at all: Exod. xxx. 34; Lev. ii. 1 f., 15 f., v. 11, vi. 8, xxiv. 7; Num. v. 15; Isa. xliii. 23, lx. 6, lxvi. 3; Jer. vi. 20, xvii. 26, xli. 5; Cant. iii. 6, iv. 6, 14; Neh. xiii. 5-9; and 1 Chron. ix. 29 (without any parallel in the earlier historical books!). In this we cannot but find an unmistakable trace of the fact that such sacrificial ordinances as are formulated in harmony of form and content with the Pentateuchal sections just referred to (Exod. xxx. 34; Lev. ii. 1, etc.), were not (as vi. 20a shows) recognized by Jeremiah as divinely sanctioned or as Mosaic.

At this point of our investigation Jeremiah viii. 8 must also be taken into account. Verse 8a runs: "How do ye say, we are wise and the law of the Lord is with us?" These words offer no difficulty. Then verse 8b begins with "But, behold." The expression which immediately follows, "*lashsheker*," occurs ten times: Lev. v. 24, xix. 12; 1 Sam. xxv. 21, Jer. iii. 23a, v. 2b, vii. 9, viii. 8, xxvii. 15; Zech. v. 4; Mal. iii. 5. In six of these passages it is combined with the word "swear" (Lev. v. 24, xix. 24; 1 Sam. iii. 23a, v. 2b, vii. 9; Zech. v. 4; Mal. iii. 5), and signifies "in accordance with deceit," or "for deceit," that is, "deceitful." Further, in 1 Samuel xxv. 21 we read: "Surely for deceit, that is, unsuccessfully, have I kept." Then in Jeremiah iii. 23a "*lashsheker*" signifies "in accordance with, and for, deceit." Moreover, xxvii. 15 runs thus: "they prophesy in My Name in accordance with, and for, deceit" = in a lying manner and for the purpose of deception. What then does *lashsheker* mean in the tenth passage (viii. 8b)? This depends on the sense of the עֲשֵׂה which follows it.

Ought this עֲשֵׂה to have an object or not? There are many analogies to support the suggestion that either עֲשֵׂה or עֲשֵׂהָ was meant. For the pronoun which represents something already mentioned is often regarded in Hebrew

as understood (Gen. ii. 19a, etc.).¹ The interpretation of the text in Jeremiah viii. 8b which first suggests itself is that after עשה a pronoun is involuntarily supplied which refers to the Torah of Jehovah mentioned before. Nevertheless, the verb עשה might also be used in this place without an object. For it stands without an object in Genesis xxx. 30, etc. (Syntax, § 209). But this fact that עשה occurs also without an object does not make it certain or even entirely probable that the ל in Jeremiah viii. 8b was intended to be taken in this absolute sense. For the passages Gen. xxx. 30, etc., do not refer to anything which could form the natural object to עשה. On the other hand, Jeremiah viii. 8b actually names before עשה something which is the natural object of a pen's activity, namely, the Torah of Jehovah. It is therefore an incontrovertible fact that the "law of Jehovah" is involuntarily supplied as the object to this verb of making.

Nevertheless, there are still two other translations which are possible: (a) Surely, behold, in a deceitful manner, or, for deceit has the pen of scribes established it (*eam* = the Torah of Jehovah). In this case what would be expressed would be this, that the lying pen had introduced the Torah of Jehovah in its entire contents. This declaration is not probable. (b) The other interpretation which is still possible is the following: "For deceit has many (see my Syntax § 256) a false pen of scribes made it (*eam*)." Then the sense of Jeremiah viii. 8b would be this: the basis of the Torah of Jehovah, which was made authoritative by the classes having the control at the time, was actually a Divine Torah, but this basis had received false additions through the lying pen of scribes.

In what did these additions consist? It cannot be regarded as impossible that verse 8a signifies that the then dominating party was appealing to the Torah of Jehovah for the authorization of their Tophet cultus (cf. vii. 31 ff.). We

¹ Compare my *Historisch-comparative Syntax des Hebräischen*, p. 342, Note 1.

may recall the fact that in vii. 31b and in xix. 5 Jehovah protests against the idea that He had commanded the sacrifice of children. But the definite article, "the Torah of Jehovah" is a difficulty in this interpretation. It suggests that this explanation should at least be extended. It must also be remembered that verse 8a refers back in the first instance to the words: "My people know not the ordinance of the Lord" (7b), that is to say, Israel does not know the fundamental Divine requirement of loyalty, of inward dependence upon God, which is referred to in vii. 21-23, etc. This pretermission of loyalty towards God was the source of all kinds of immorality. And so it provides a ground of complaint quite sufficiently serious for viii. 8 to refer to it. And who, finally, are the scribes on whose pen reproach is cast in verse 8b? In verse 10 the prophets and priests are accused of "bringing deceit (*sheker*) to pass." Here, therefore, exactly the same conduct is ascribed to them as is complained of in verse 8b. It follows that the lying pen of scribes is to be sought for in the circle of the false prophets and the priests.

The attitude of Jeremiah to the Pentateuchal ordinances touching sacrifice was, according to the passages we have discussed, this: the commandments regarding sacrifice formed no part of the principles of the Law which, on a certain occasion, were promulgated immediately before the entire community, and were therefore invested with fundamental significance (Jer. vii. 22a; Exod. xx. 19b; Deut. v. 22f.). These principles could not possibly be superseded by sacrificial regulations, in view of their importance as evidence of Israel's covenant loyalty (Jer. vii. 23). Moreover, in the formulating of the laws of sacrifice, there operated, no doubt, the natural inclination to purchase the Divine favour by the costliness of the sacrificial materials (vi. 20a; cf. viii. 8).

This exposition of Jeremiah vii. 22 f., while it offers the

right means for grasping as a homogeneous whole all the passages in Jeremiah which contain references to sacrifice, throws at the same time a welcome light upon other utterances in the Old Testament which concern the rank assigned to the sacrificial regulations. But these must be discussed on another occasion.

ED. KÖNIG.

*DID OUR LORD, OR ENOCH, "PREACH TO
THE SPIRITS IN PRISON"?*

DR. RENDEL HARRIS has recently contributed to this magazine some very interesting notes on the connexion of 1 Peter with the Book of Enoch. (6th Series iv. 194-346, v. 317.) He suggests that the name Ἐνώχ in 1 Peter iii. 19 has dropped out of the text, by similarity (of sound) or the ἐν ᾧ καὶ with which that verse commences.

In his last paper, he states that the proposed emendation had occurred to Dr. M. R. James recently, and to the Dutch theologian Cramer in 1891. They, however, seem to consider the ἐν ᾧ καὶ as a substitute for Ἐνώχ. His view is certainly the preferable one (if one of the two emendations must be adopted) for reasons which he gives.

But I venture to call his attention and that of your readers to the note in Stier and Thiele's Polyglot New Testament of A.D. 1855. It is

19. Ap. Bow. (pro ἐν ᾧ) : Ἐνώχ s. Νῶε (Al. : ἐν ᾧ κ. Ἐνώχ) cll. Ind. 14s. 2 Pt. 2. 5.

Bowyer published in 1763 in London a Greek New Testament in two volumes, with Wetstein's approved readings, and a collection of critical conjectures, which were not necessarily his own. These conjectures were afterwards published separately. They also are contained in Knapp's

New Testament of 1797, from which Rudolf Stier appears to have derived them.

The proposed substitution of *Ἐνώχ* for the received text (or the addition of the word) is therefore a proposal of at least 139 years' antiquity, and it may be far older. It would be interesting to trace Bowyer's note to its original author. S. T. Bloomfield (A.D. 1828) refers to it contemptuously (*Recensio Synoptica*, viii. 671), but he seems to imply that several authors had made or continued the proposal. "Some resort to critical conjecture, which merits no attention." Who are the "others" referred to by Stier? *Nihil sub sole novum!* GEORGE FARMER.

THE HISTORY OF A CONJECTURAL. EMENDATION.

MR. FARMER has, in the preceding note, made the important observation that the conjectural restoration which was proposed in this magazine for the difficult passage 1 Pet. iii. 19 is more ancient than I had supposed, and that it was already extant in Bowyer's *Conjectures to the New Testament*, from whom it passed into the *Sylloge Conjecturarum* at the end of Knapp's New Testament, and thence into the footnotes of the Polyglot edition of Stier and Thiele. His discovery adds new force to some remarks of my own, when trying to do justice to those who had independently lighted upon the emendation, either in the form which I gave or one closely related to it. I think that I pointed out that if three independent workers (say Dr. Cramer, Dr. James, and myself) had suggested the correction, the subjectivity which is the bane of conjectural restoration is reduced nearly to zero, and that we might use Shakesperian language, and say that there were "three justices' hands to it." Mr. Farmer tells us that the number three must be raised to four, and that one

of the justices, viz. the anonymous one in Bowyer, has been largely quoted and endorsed, which certainly does not diminish the value of his ruling.

Thus the wider question than that of a particular Petrine emendation is before us, and we are invited (as I suggested in a previous communication) to discuss how far the value of a correction is increased, when two or three or twenty persons light upon it independently.

May we say that when the personal equation has been got rid of by the combination of many observations, that we are entitled to affirm modestly, what the ordinary conjectural-emendator says positively (and the more so when no one endorses him) that "this is now certain"?

In order to clear one's ideas on the matter, suppose we leave 1 Peter iii. 19 alone for a while, and try and discuss a similar question where the emendator has made a splendid venture, and been well received, and where the question of his originality comes up precisely as it does in the problem of the restoration of the name of Enoch to the text of Peter.

One of the most brilliant restorations of the last few years is one which Dr. Blass proposed in his *Philology of the Gospels* for the passage Acts vi. 9,¹ where, in place of the perplexing 'synagogue of the Libertines,' we are invited to read τῆς συναγωγῆς τῶν λεγομένων Λιβυστίνων, and so to restore geographical unity to the expression Λιβερτίνων καὶ Κυρηναίων καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων, where the grouping of the names is of itself sufficient to suggest a single synagogue, especially when contrasted with the following words καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Κιλικίας καὶ Ἀσίας. Accordingly Dr. Blass says :

"We are utterly ignorant of a synagogue in Jerusalem bearing the name of Λιβερτίνων, or the Freedmen, and there is this additional difficulty, that the words καὶ Κυρηναίων καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων seem to form a

¹ Blass l.c. p. 69.

part of the same appellation, although Cyrenians and Alexandrians belong to definite towns, and freedmen existed everywhere. I have tried in my Commentary to disjoin these words from *Λιβηρίων* and to bring them into connection with *καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Κιλικίας καὶ Ἀσίας*: but the right way lay in quite an opposite direction. Mr. F. C. Conybeare and Mr. J. Rendel Harris directed my attention, some time afterwards, to Armenian versions of the Acts and of the Syriac Commentaries upon that book, and in those sources I found the reading *Libyorum* instead of *Λιβηρίων*, a reading given already by Tischendorf, but at the first disregarded by me. Now I saw at once that something like *Λιβύων* would suit the context very well indeed, as the Greek towns lying westwards from Cyrene would come quite appropriately under that designation. But can *Λιβηρίων* be a corruption of *Λιβύων*? Of course not, nor does *Λιβύων* seem to be the right appellation for those Jews, as the Libyans were nothing but barbarous tribes. But *Λιβυστίων* will both suit the sense, design them as inhabitants of Libya, and come very near to the corrupted *Λιβηρίων*, there being but two letters different. It is easy to establish that this form of the adjective from *Λίβυς* was a current one, from Catullus' (60, 1) *Montibus Libystinis* and from the geographical lexicon of Stephanus Byzantinus, etc. This therefore is the true reading."

The question might be raised at the outset whether this is a conjectural restoration at all. For the presence of the variant in the critical apparatus, even if only in a single quarter, is evidence of the existence of the reading. We do not know that Tischendorf's reading *Libyorum* is the right representation of the Armenian form or rather of the Greek which underlay it. And, as Blass points out, there is a further accession of Syriac and Armenian testimony in the evidence beyond what was known to Tischendorf. But suppose we grant it to be a conjecture and not an extant reading, at least so far as the substitution of "Libystine" for "Libyan" goes. We have then an admirable emendation proposed by Blass concerning which he is (a) certain that it is correct, (b) satisfied that no one thought of it before. He says definitely, "the conjecture has not really been made so far as I know; nevertheless it might have been made by a reflecting critic." I propose

to accept the correction, and to test my friend Dr. Blass for priority (which seems a better word to use than originality).

If we turn to Schleusner, *Lex. N.T.* s.v. (A.D. 1824), we shall find as follows :

"Unde quidam (v.c. Beza, Clericus, Jac. Gothofredus, et Fr. Spanhemius (*Misc.* iii. 2, 17, *Tom* ii. p. 320) h.l. pro *Λιβερίων* legi volunt *Λιβυρίων*. Vide Wetsteini *N. T.* ii. 492 et aliorum. Satis confirmatur et magnam veri speciem habet, tamen palmam cedit eorum sententiae qui ob orationis seriem (nam *Alexandrinorum*, *Asianorum*, *Cyrenaeorum* et *Cilicum* scholis et coetibus proxime junguntur), per Libertinos intelligunt Judaeos, incolas et cives Liberti Africae propriae, sive Carthaginiensis, quae et proconsularis dicebatur sive oppidi (secundum *Pearcium* in comm. ad. h.l.) sive regionis."

Here then is Dr. Blass' emendation, supported by a string of authorities, and in competition with another emendation or rather explanation (also supported by a string of authorities), according to which latter suggestion the name is that of a North African town.

When we turn from Schleusner, we find the New Testaments and Commentaries well acquainted with the matter which he has digested for us.

Thus in Knapp's New Testament we have the following note :

Λιβερίων] *Λιβυρίων* Beza, Cleric., J. Gothofredus [prob. Relando et Valck. [sic versio *Arm.*].

Here are some of Schleusner's authorities, and some fresh ones, as well as the authority of the Armenian version.¹

If we turn to Griesbach we find the brief note

Λιβυρίων. Conject. et sic *Arm.*,

which shows that Griesbach knew the correction and the support for it in the critical apparatus. It does not seem

¹ The first Knapp edn. is A.D. 1797. I am quoting the 4th edn. of 1828.

that Griesbach equated the Armenian reading with *Libyorum*, but with *Libystinorum*.

Mill, in his New Testament of 1707 notices the conjecture, but only to dismiss it contemptuously, as the following will show :

Λιβηρίων] corruptum quidam suspicantur ex *Λιβυρίων* inani conjectura, siquidem libri omnes in vulgata lectione consentiant.

Wetstein in his folio edition of 1731 does not follow Mill in dismissing the emendation ; he says :

Λιβυρίων. T. Beza in Annotatt. ed. 1, 2, J. Clericus, Jac. Gothofredus.

And in the footnotes he quotes Catullus, Aelian, Macrobius, and Stephanus in justification of the form. So here is the Blass-emendation accompanied by the Blass-confirmations, and again we are pointed to Theodore Beza as the author. The emendation will also be found in the edition of Wetstein's *Prolegomena* which antedates the New Testament.

No doubt it was from Wetstein that Bowyer, the learned printer, took the substance of his note on the text ; it runs as follows :

"As the other synagogues are named from countries, so here, perhaps, we should read *Λιβυρίων* *Libyensium* with Oecumenius, Jac. Gothofred., Cod. Theod., tom. iii. xvi. p. 221, J. Clericus, etc., etc."

I do not see why Beza's name is dropped, and we have a fresh and surprising suggestion which seems to be from Bowyer's own hand, or that of one of his friends, to the effect that the reading is given in Oecumenius.

It would be easy to show that the acquaintance which the great editors of the New Testament show with the Libystine emendation is faithfully reflected in the commentaries. For example, Rosenmüller, in his *Scholia in N.T.*, writes :

"Satis apparet *Λιβερίων* non esse nomen regionis. Ex quo simul intelligitur, supervacaneam esse quorundam conjecturam qui pro *Λιβερίων* legendum putarent *Λιβυρίων*, contra omnium Codd. et Vers. antiq. auctoritatem."

Spanheim (1632-1701), to whom Schleusner refers us, has the following note in his *Dissertation on the Period of St. Paul's Conversion* :

"Quod si in textu quid audendum, mallet legi *Λιβυρίων*, non de Libyis Africanis, sed de Judæis qui Iberiam, Colchidem, ac vicina loca frequentes incolerent . . . quibus esset sua Hierosolymis synagoga. Stephanus de Urbibus : *Λιβυρίων, ἔθνος παρακείμενον Κόλχοις*."

Here it appears that the Blass-emendation was known to Spanheim, who only differs from it in the matter of interpretation, a piece of hypercriticism in which he found no supporter.

John Clericus (le Clerc) (1657-1736), whom Blass recognizes as the first to propose the theory of a double edition of the Lucan writings, was also familiar with the emendation, as the following extract from his commentary will show :

"Malim legi, quamvis codices dissentiant, *Λιβυρίων*, quia cum Alexandrini et Cyrenenses, populi Libyæ vicini memorati essent, nemo poterat iis aptius conjungi quam Libyes aut Libystini; nam utroque modo nomen *ἐθνικόν* formatur, ut docebit Stephanus."

Here then we again have the Blass-emendation, as well as one of the Blass authorities for the form of the word.¹ So far the language employed suggests that they are discussing a correction which had already been proposed, and upon a comparison with what we now have to bring forward, it will appear that the author from whom they all depend is Theodore Beza, who proposed the correction in his edition of 1559, in which he calls it "haec mea conjectura," and abandoned it, in an excess of critical modesty, in 1565. The note is interesting to the student,

¹ See also Valoknaer, *Schol. in Act. Apost.*, p. 413.

for comparison with the later annotators, and runs as follows :

"*Λιβερτίνων*. Ridiculum est profecto quod a quibusdam est annotatum, Libertinos scilicet istos Romanos fuisse, quia Latinum est vocabulum, et a Livia Angusti conjuge sic cognominatos. Alii alias causas afferunt, quarum nulla mihi quidem adhuc probari potuit. Neque enim video qua ratione Lucas istos appellet ex conditione, cæteros vero ex gente ac patria. Itaque quo propius hunc locum inspicio, eo magis confirmor in ea opinione, ut existimem fuisse a librariis depravatum, et pro *Λιβερτίνων* reponendum esse *Λιβυστίνων*. Iidem sunt autem Libistini qui et Libyes et Libyci, ut diserte testatur Stephanus, ex Libya scilicet oriundi; quæ quum inter Cyrenaicam et Aegyptum media sit interjecta, merito scilicet conjunguntur cum Cyrenaicis et Alexandrinis, sicuti rursus Cilices cum Asiaticis. Occasionem autem erroris præbere potuit partim summa nominis affinitas inter Libistinos et Libertinos, partim etiam quod ipsi multo frequenter Libyes, quam Libistini dicantur, ut imperitus facile suspicari potuerit locum esse depravatum, quam ipse tamen depravarit. Sed quid si potius hæc mea conjectura. quod recte scriptum est, perverteret? nam certe mirum est omnium codicum consensus. Quamobrem ne apicem quidem mutare volui; tantum placuit, lector, quod suspicares, bona fide proponere, ut aliquid constituent istarum rerum peritiores."

In 1565 the passage is slightly altered and the following words are added, "Sed præterquam quod omnes codices quos inspexi, summo consensu legunt *Λιβερτίνων*, non est etiam necesse ad hanc conjecturam venire," and in later editions I believe the whole note is wanting. A further suggestion occurs in Bowyer to the effect that the reading *Λιβυστίνων* can be found in Oecumenius. I have not been able to verify this, though there is something that seems to point in that direction. As a matter of fact Oecumenius is merely digesting scraps of Chrysostom, and it is quite possible that a search amongst the MSS. of Chrysostom's commentaries on the Acts might lead to the recovery of the lost reading in Greek. I hope no one will think any the worse either of Dr. Blass or of his emendation because it has been shown to have been so abundantly anticipated.

In reality the case for the correction is much stronger in consequence of the investigation and Dr. Blass's acuteness can take care of itself.

I pass on to a somewhat similar instance, not quite so striking as the passage in the Acts, but not without critical importance. When Mrs. Lewis first published her Syriac palimpsest gospels from Mount Sinai, she made the following annotation on a passage in Mark :

"In Mark x. 50 we are told that blind Timai, son of Timai, took up his garment when he rose and came to Jesus. This, to any one who has watched Eastern habits, seems a more natural action than if he had cast it away."

I do not see that this alteration of the text of the Syriac gospels has provoked as yet an inquiry into the Greek text which is involved. But a little examination will show that on the Greek side we have struck an interesting conjectural emendation, viz. the substitution of ἀπολαβὼν for ἀποβαλὼν. It will be in order if we inquire whether any one has anticipated the correction.

A reference to Wetstein *in loc.* provides us with the following :

ἀποβαλὼν] ἀπολαβὼν. Versio Aethiop.
Samuel Battierius

and this note is the foundation of the following in Bowyer's *Conjectures* :

F.¹ ἀπολαβὼν, taking his garment, which, in so short a way, would be but a small impediment. Battier. *Bibl. Bremens.*, class vi. p. 88, and the Ethiopic version.

The reference to the Bibliotheca Bremensis is meant to confirm the reference to Samuel Battier, and it is clear that Samuel Battier had made a conjectural emendation of ἀποβαλὼν to ἀπολαβὼν, and that this conjecture was supported by the Ethiopic Version as it is now by the Lewis

¹ I.e. forsitan.

Syriac. Samuel Battier was a Swiss doctor of Basel (1667–1744). He made many prælections and notes upon the plays of Sophocles and Euripides and upon other Greek writers including the New Testament, and some of his guesses found favour in the eyes of Wetstein and other eighteenth century scholars. I have examined the emendation of Mark x. 50 in the *Bibliotheca Bremensis*, and on turning to the *Museum Helveticum* of Zurich I find further a prælection delivered by Battier in 1705 and printed in 1749 in the xiiiith part of the *Museum* which contains a further statement of the very matter that we are in search of. He is discussing the critical restoration of corrupt passages of Euripides and writes as follows :

p. 23. “ Hoc λαβὼν positum pro βαλὼν in Euripide admonet me loci cujusdam in Evangelio Marci c. x. v. 50, ubi de Bartimæo caeco illo dicitur, cum Salvator Jesus eum ad se vocasset: Ὁ δὲ, ἀποβαλὼν τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ ἀναστὰς ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν. *Ille autem abjiciens vestimentum suum, surgens venit ad Jesum.* Iam prudentibus considerandum propono, an non veri maxime sit simile, quod pro hoc ἀποβαλὼν sit scribendum, ἀπολαβὼν, cum recepisset. Cuivis enim notum est mendicos in compitis et viis sedentes ad stipem colligendam exteriora sua vestimenta et tunicas deponere, aut etiam insidere. Itaque verisimile et Bartimæum idem fecisse; cumque Jesus ipsum vocasset, vestimento suo recepto non vero abjecto, ad ipsum venisse.”

The parallel between the observations of S. Battier and of Mrs. Lewis will be at once remarked. And if a reading which is apparently extant both in Syriac and in Ethiopic can be called a conjecture, then Battier anticipates Mrs. Lewis, and the anticipation is in reality a confirmation of some strength in regard to the proposed reading, in spite of the apparent harshness of ἀπολαβὼν.

It would no doubt be easy to give further illustrations of the same kind; but it is time to return to Peter and Enoch.

As Mr. Farmer has pointed out, we have before us the

problem of finding the source from which Bowyer was working, when he made the note

F. ENΩΧ καὶ. See Jud. 19.¹ S.

And as Mr. Farmer points out, the emendation was taken up into Knapp's *Sylloge Conjecturarum* with an express acknowledgment of dependence upon Bowyer, and some amplifications, as follows:

19. ἐν φ̄ καὶ] 'Ενὼχ καὶ S. ap. Bow. alii ἐν φ̄ καὶ 'Ενὼχ (cf. Ep. Jud. 14, 15). Alii Νῶε καὶ [cp. vs. 20, 2 Pet. 2, 5, Matt. 24, 37, 38. Heb. 11. 7.

Here we have really three emendations, of which the second is our form, and the first is Bowyer's.

From Knapp it passes into Stier and Theile, as Mr. Farmer suggests. But it also passed into Griesbach's New Testament in the form

νῶε S. ἐνὼχ S. ἐν φ̄ ἐνὼχ.

It is certainly not a little curious that a reading which Griesbach honoured with a place at the foot of his page should have been so completely lost sight of. It might easily have escaped notice in the modest and almost enigmatical form in which it occurs in Bowyer, but its occurrence in one of the great historical editions ought to have secured a more ample and permanent recognition.

The first question to be resolved is the person who is indicated by the letter S in Bowyer's Conjectures. When the learned printer first made his collection of Conjectures, he drew upon (a) printed books, (b) the contributions of a circle of erudite friends. In the former case he usually gave the name of the person who made the conjecture; in the latter case he used an initial, or the sign *Anon.* Thus we shall find the marks B, L, O, R, S, Z, and *Anon.* Of these by far the commonest is R, which stands for his friend Jeremiah Markland. This is clear, not only from a number

of passages in the published correspondence between Markland and Bowyer, as from the fact that when Bowyer's partner Nichols, assisted by his friend Dr. Owen, brought out an enlarged posthumous edition of the Conjectures in 1782, the initials at the end of the paragraphs are replaced by the names, and Markland always stands for R.¹

By the same showing, O is Dr. Henry Owen, L is Bishop Law (except in 2 Tim. i. 18, where it is corrected to Bishop Sherlock); B (Heb. x. 30) is Bowyer himself; and *Anon.* is Thomas Mangey, the editor of *Philo.* Unfortunately S, which occurs, as far as I know, only in 1 Peter iii. 19, and Z, which occurs in two supplementary notes at the end of the original volume, remain unexplained. We may at least infer that neither Nichols (who was his partner's Boswell), nor Owen who professed to verify all the references, had any knowledge of the persons covered by the initials.

We are thus left in the dark on the very point that we were in search of. Meanwhile we have gained one or two points.

It was observed above that the emendation, in the triple form, is in Griesbach; but it is not in the Griesbach of 1775, and it appears to have been added in the second edition (1796-1806), probably from Knapp. Thus the emendation emerges in 1772, from a hand as yet unrecognized, and in the course of the next ten years or so becomes modified in the direction which we find taken in Knapp and Griesbach; but who suggested *Nōē* instead of *Ἐνώχ*, or *ἐν φ̄ καὶ Ἐνώχ* for *Ἐνώχ καὶ* does not appear.

¹ We should have expected M, but Markland appears to have been nervously anxious to conceal his identity, as the following letter from him to Bowyer will show:

July 30, 1770.

"In mine to you yesterday I expressed some unwillingness of having anything printed which is written in the margin of my Greek Testament; I had not then thought of an obvious expedient which has occurred since, viz. that my name may be concealed (the chief thing I aimed at); and at the end of each note, if any be made use of, may be put the letter R."

The British Museum copy of Bowyer contains a MS. note, directing us to a sermon by Smith, and this must mean a sermon on 1 Peter iii. 19, by William Smith in 1668.¹ But since the sermon does not appear to contain the emendation, we have one more conjecture to add to the mass of the unverified suggestions of the ingenious; while the three emendators of the passage continue to elude us in a very perplexing manner.

The British Museum Catalogue contains a list of persons who contributed conjectural emendations to Bowyer, viz. Bishop Barrington, Mr. Markland, Professor Schultz, Professor Michaelis, Dr. Owen, Dr. Woide, Dr. Gosset, and Mr. Weston; two of these names, Schultz and Woide, being erased with a pen. The list, with these exceptions, is taken from Nichols' preface to the third edition, and does not relate to the first edition at all. I. C. F. Schultz is the German translator (A.D. 1774), of Bowyer. He does not seem to have been an original contributor, although, according to Nichols, "valuable additions by him are printed in the edition of 1812."

And here, for the present, we must leave the matter of the identification, having travelled already very far afield in search of those *qui ante nos nostra dixerunt*.

As in the previous cases to which we have alluded, the re-emergence of a forgotten emendation is of greater critical weight than if the conjecture were entirely new. And we may hope that, in view of the number of minds to whom the correction of 1 Peter iii. 19 has occurred independently, that place will be found for it in the theology of unprejudiced scholars.

It is interesting to notice also that the interpreters and the critics have been advancing side by side in the explanation of the passage. Before the complete text of Enoch

¹ Its title is: "A Sermon preached before the Right Worshipful Company of Merchants trading in the Levant," etc.

had been recovered in Ethiopic, and when only a few Greek fragments had been brought to light, Daniel Heinsius¹ saw the importance of those fragments for the interpretation of 1 Peter iii. 19; and this suggestion was taken up by a number of later scholars; and it only needed a closer knowledge of the Book of Enoch, and a proof that 1 Peter depends upon it, to make it reasonably certain that the "spirits in prison" can be nothing else but the fallen angels of Genesis. And that Enoch is their preacher (*κῆρυξ*), in the judgment of the early Church, may be gathered from the following passage of Irenaeus:

Iren. iv. 27, 2: "Sed et Enoch, sine circumcissione placens Deo cum esset homo, *Dei legatione ad angelos fungebatur.*"

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

DIALOGUES ON THE CHRISTIAN PROPHETS.

V.

Who are the Prophets now?—No Fear of Reconstruction—Bishop Butler on new Discoveries in Holy Scripture—Function of the Prophets—Their Subject-matter—Fulfilments—Endurance.

Mason. Don't you think, Riddell, it would be better if you were to state plainly, before we proceed further, the position which you take with regard to the Christian Prophets?

Riddell. By all means, Mason. I have been trying to do so for some time past, and evidently I shall have to continue my poor endeavours for some time longer. For instance, a dear friend of mine, with all the agility of a female intellect, has pressed me to tell her who are the Christian Prophets now.

M. And what was your answer?

R. There are none. What else could I say?

M. The lady meant, of course, "Who are their direct successors?"

¹ See Heinsius: *Exerc. Sac.* (A.D. 1639).

R. My answer would have to be the same. There are none.

M. You are engaged, then, in dealing with an extinct body of Christians?

R. Yes. We should gain little by asserting that the direct successors of the Christian Prophets were Christians who are not prophets. "There is no prophet more," as the Psalmist said, but there are, on the other hand, some nowadays who "understand" (Ps. lxxiv. 9: see Prayer-Book version). The gift of prophecy has been withdrawn. "Whether there be prophecies, they shall fail," was St. Paul the Prophet's own prophecy; and it has proved to be true in the course of history. They have "failed," and the class of prophets is extinct. If I were to tell you that the Friends' Meetings, as observed by many of our grandfathers' generation, and even to-day, bore a strong outward resemblance to the meetings of the Christian Prophets as described by St. Paul in 1 Corinthians xiv., I cannot think that this resemblance, great as I consider it to be, would justify me in saying that the Friends are the direct successors of the Christian Prophets any more than some other Christian bodies. I prefer to say that there are no successors. The Friends do not practise *fasting* before ecstasy, nor is *ecstasy*, nor, I believe, is *revelation* a part of their system as such, nor do they continue *tongue-speaking*, which is such a marked feature of the Holy Apostolic Church known as Irvingite. The line of Prophets is extinct.

M. You remind me that at home I happen to possess a metatarsal bone of *Didus ineptus*, commonly called the Dodo. I could forgive any zoologist who set to work to reconstruct the skeleton of that extinct bird, though there are some good specimens at Cambridge, and I forgive you, Riddell, for trying to reconstruct the picture of the Christian Prophets.

R. Thank you, Mason, for your indulgence. You might

even be pleased to think the object was attainable, and if I were the zoologist, perhaps you would be so kind as to lend me the metatarsal for a while. You would not be afraid?

M. No, indeed! No more afraid of your zoology than of your honesty in returning my bone at last.

R. Good! You would not fear the result of the inquiry to which you had contributed the loan of a dodo's metatarsal. Neither will you fear what may result from an inquiry in theology to which you will have contributed your kind attention.

M. The dodo is extinct, but in theology, remember, there are volcanic fires which are not extinct.

Incedis per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso.

R. Yes, but we are all alike. This volcano, the earth, is ever cooling, and we are all walking on the treacherous crust which covers the fires beneath. If the Christian Prophets are extinct, then we are all the safer in treading the path of their quest. And possibly, too, we may discover the roots of a gentle *eirenicon*, that humble herb which may be found growing amidst the lava, and the leaves of which are said to soothe the effects of a scorching animosity.

This, then, is the position. The prophets were a class of men who existed in our Lord's time and for some few generations after His birth. Let us enumerate some of them. Simeon and Anna, of Jerusalem; JESUS, the Prophet, of Nazareth; James and Peter; Judas and Silas, being prophets also themselves (Acts xv. 32); Barnabas and Paul; John the Elder (2 John i., 3 John 1); Luke-Silas. Next, without at present trying to ascertain the antecedent links, which are many, in the chain of prophecy, nor those which follow, so far as they continue, let us see what these men did. Before prophesying, they individually passed into a state of ecstasy, and their physical preparation

for this state was fasting or hunger, and their spiritual preparation was prayer.

M. But I am one of those who commonly understand that prophesying was what we should nowadays call preaching. The "Liberty of Prophesying," about which Jeremy Taylor wrote, was the liberty of preaching the Gospel and expounding Scripture.

R. Yes. No more utter blindfolding of the eyes to the facts of history was ever done than to assert that prophesying was preaching. Jeremy Taylor assumes this rather than asserts it. It was a natural assumption 250 years ago. But the assertion cannot be made now without a wilful and deliberate ignorance of the plain statements of the New Testament. We have found out more things than were in Taylor's philosophy. He is a learned and beautiful writer to whom we owe a debt of undying gratitude for several of his works. But let me remind you of the dignified and weighty words of Bishop Butler, a far greater philosopher than Jeremy Taylor, in which he argues that fresh discoveries may be made in the interpretation of the Bible, just as they are made in the field of natural science. Here it is. I underlined it long ago. He says (*Analogy*, part II., chapter iii.): "The more distinct and particular knowledge . . . of the prophetic parts of revelation, like many parts of natural and even civil knowledge, may require very exact thought, and careful consideration. The hindrances too, of natural, and of supernatural light and knowledge, have been of the same kind. And, as it is owned, the whole scheme of Scripture is not yet understood ; so, if it ever comes to be understood, before the *restitution of all things*, and without miraculous interpositions, it must be in the same way as natural knowledge is come at : by the continuance and progress of learning and liberty ; and by particular persons attending to, comparing and pursuing, intimations scattered up and down it, which are

overlooked and disregarded by the generality of the world. For this is the way in which all improvements are made ; by thoughtful men's tracing on obscure hints, as it were, dropped us by nature accidentally, or which seem to come into our minds by chance. Nor is it at all incredible that a book, which has been so long in the possession of mankind should contain many truths as yet undiscovered. For, all the same phenomena, and the same faculties of investigation, from which such great discoveries in natural knowledge have been made in the present and last age, were equally in the possession of mankind several thousand years before. And possibly it might be intended, that events, as they come to pass, should open and ascertain the meaning of several parts of Scripture."

I am sure you will not fail to be impressed with this superb passage, instinct as it is with the fiery energy of faith, of trust, in the possibility—nay, the certainty—of results, a faith which must actuate, and does actuate, every true investigator. You have no idea, perhaps, of the unfaith or atheism of those who block the way of investigation and who pooh-pooh the idea of new and fruitful results. Yes, you may obtain some idea, when you think, in another region of work, for instance, of Milton parting with *Paradise Lost* for a ten-pound note, of Keats done to death by the *Quarterly*, of Tennyson's *In Memoriam* on its first appearance saluted with charges of bestial insinuation by the reviewers. I do not expect the Christian Prophets to be recognized just yet, after being so long " overlooked and disregarded by the generality of the world. For this is the way in which all improvements are made." There must always be a *Reviler*, just as there were " mockers with mockery " (2 Pet. iii. 3) in the times of the Christian Prophets, and there is very little doubt that their mockery reached a climax on a Saturday, considering the then importance of that day of the week. Could anything be plainer than St.

Paul's distinction between an evangelist and a Prophet? A Prophet could often preach, no doubt, but then, when he preached, he was a proclaimer, a herald, an evangelist; and when he prophesied he was a Prophet.

M. What then was the subject-matter of a Prophet?

R. The Christian Prophet was occupied with the Christ, the Messiah. His business was to find fulfilments of prophecy. He took a text or texts of Old Testament Scripture, the New Testament being not yet written, and placing the texts alongside of events he found (or failed to find) a fulfilment.

M. What do you mean by saying "or failed to find" it.

R. The Prophets met together (1 Cor. xiv. 29), and each after his ecstasy declared what had been revealed to him. The Revelation was submitted to the criticism of the other Prophets, and if these, in the exercise of their critical faculty (*διακρινέτωσαν*), rejected the results of the Revelation, then it is not incorrect to say that the Prophet had failed to find a fulfilment on that occasion.

M. Was this then an instance of the Higher Criticism, so early in the Church?

R. You may call it Higher Criticism; it was certainly criticism of a high order. And I have been pained at listening last week to a sermon in which the preacher could not refrain from side-shafts at "the self-satisfied critic." These shafts are still as common in sermons as the disused assaults upon popery. Sometimes the critics and the cardinals are together the objects of attack. When will the preachers learn that the Bible is a book of inexhaustible interest and will stand upon its own merits, in spite of all their attempts to make it dull and interesting?

M. I should hope when they became imbued with some amount of historic sense.

R. Historic, yes. We may hope so, but few preachers have even begun to treat the Bible as history. They are

afflicted with the parabolic, anagogic, allegoric sense, and they afflict us with the same in turn. However, we were saying that the Prophets were a class, indeed an Order, for you cannot maintain that "everything was to be done decently and in order" (1 Cor. xv. 40), unless the authority which enforced this order was itself an Order. The less cannot impose the greater. Hence you will not be surprised to find, if you apply another test to my conclusion, that admission to this Order was accompanied by the laying on of hands, (1 Tim. iv. 14, "The gift that was given thee by means of prophecy with the laying on of the hands of the body of elders"—who as I could show you, were Prophets, neither more nor less). And they sought and found fulfilments.

M. I should have thought that, if they were Prophets, they would be concerned with prophesying, as the Old Testament Prophets were, and not with finding fulfilments.

R. Quite so; you would, at the first blush. But you must know that by A.D. 1 the Messianic hope had become intensely powerful—a point which needs no labouring, and that the Old Testament had received a stamp of venerable antiquity and dominant value. I do not however find that other books outside our present Canon were much less valued. For instance, you cannot fail to see that St. Paul has the Book of Enoch before him in Ephesians v. 14, 15:

Wherefore (he) saith: *Awake thou that sleepest*, and arise from the dead, and Christ *shall give thee light*.

Take heed therefore accurately how ye walk, not as unwise, but as wise.

And the righteous one will arise from sleep, will arise and walk in the path of righteousness (Enoch xcii. 3).

And the righteous one will arise from sleep and wisdom will arise and be given unto them (Enoch xci. 10).

He will give him eternal uprightness, and he will . . . walk in eternal light (Enoch xcii. 4).

And so on. You know that we have in the Book of Enoch the *ipsissima verba* of the quotation given by Jude from Enoch. Is it likely that Jude was the only Apostle who was acquainted with that book? Far from it. There are abundant references to the Apocryphal books; Ecclesiasticus was a favourite source of the Christian prophets, who, considering that the written prophecies were so many and pointed so clearly to their own times being "the last times," set themselves to find fulfilments, and to record especially the Revelations which bore upon those fulfilments. If you wish to see in what light they regarded all history, you need only look at the Book of Enoch, or the Book of Daniel (latter part), or the Apocalypse of Baruch, and you will see that while ancient history is very hastily sketched, the details become more precise and numerous as the present time is approached. The Greek term *συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος* (Matt. xiii. 39, 40, 49, xxiv. 3), exactly expresses this view, the idea of a gradual drawing *together* of the *end*. Believing as they did that the end was so near, you cannot expect that they would add to the store of prediction. This store was complete, and sufficient, and convincing. But it might be made to appeal more powerfully "to this generation" if they could convince it by proved "fulfilments" that "the end of all things was at hand." Prediction had had its day: fulfilment, proved fulfilment, was the last and crowning work of prophecy. I think you will see that your first idea that Prophets must always prophesy, in your favourite sense "to predict," has to be modified, when you come to the age under consideration, which was supposed to be, and actually proved to be, the last age of prophecy, though not the last age of the world.

M. I must own that you are quite convincing there. I have just been reading some wise words in an address by the late lamented Bishop Creighton (*Thoughts on Education*, xxii. p. 131): "I am (he says) prepared to state what

you will consider a paradox, that scientific truth is almost diametrically opposed to what would seem at first sight to be the truth." (Note "what would seem at first sight.") "For instance, common sense would tell us that the sun rises and sets, but science tells us exactly the opposite, that it is we who rise and set. I need not multiply instances; what I mean is that one of the first things that every one ought to learn is that the views which occur to him at the first blush are almost certain to be wrong." I think you have illustrated this remark, Riddell, in what you have said. I shall ask you later to give me some instances of these fulfilments.

R. You shall have them, Mason, in abundance, though many will occur to you readily, "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet." But you will recollect that in Peter i. 10 we read that "the Prophets—certainly the Christian Prophets—used to seek out and search out diligently what time or (failing that) what sort of time the spirit of Christ (or rather the Messiah-spirit) which was in them (as in the Prophets of old) did point unto." You recollect that when the disciples asked the Lord, "When shall these things be? and what shall be the sign of Thy coming?" they received a very extensive and explicit reply. You recollect that He Himself foretold many things, which they did not understand at the time, but afterwards they remembered that He had told them of them. Doubtless there were some "times and seasons which the Father had put in his own power" (Acts i. 7). You will further admit that as Messiah was to fulfil prophecy—an elementary fact, patent even to us now—there must have been some means of ascertaining which prophecies Jesus fulfilled, and how He fulfilled them. Or do you suppose that every Jew of that time had all the scriptures of the Old Testament so completely ready at his fingers' ends that he could see a fulfilment at once?

M. I can hardly suppose indeed so much as that. It takes a little thought, even for us to-day, with both Testaments before us, to see that such and such a passage in the New contains a fulfilment of such and such a passage in the Old.

R. Just so; and this although the two passages have, in so very many cases, been placed together for our express convenience. Now who do you suppose placed them together?

M. God must have employed the agency of men for the purpose.

R. Yes; He used the agency of the Christian Prophets, who were Jews living at the time, qualified by their knowledge of the Scriptures, canonical and extra-canonical, by their habits of prayer and spiritual life, by their lofty and noble aims, and by their simple faith, and by their self-control and devotion and humility, and by their rules of order and method, and even by their critical faculty, however different from our own, to discern the signs of the times, to discern and declare fulfilments of prophecy, to publish abroad the glad tidings of the Gospel of Grace, to organize Churches, to travel, to teach, to convert, to discuss, and in all things to endure, as knowing that "he that endureth unto the end should be saved" (Matt. x. 22), and that "in their endurance they should acquire their souls" (Luke xxi. 19).

M. You are giving us a new version there. I thought the word was "patience."

R. Yes: it is singular that the revisers could not shake themselves free from the effect of the Latin Vulgate—against whose influence they were always on the watch. It is unfortunate that they have not rejected the old word "patience" from this verse of the Revised Version. It is far inferior to "endurance"; it is less manly, less expressive altogether; and it obscures the connexion with the

other verse in Matthew. Let us have "endurance" too in the fine passage in the Epistle to Ephesus (Rev. ii. 2): "I know thy works, and thy toil, and thy *endurance*": and to Thyatira (ii. 19): and to Philadelphia (iii. 16): and in Revelation xiii. 10, and in xiv. 12, "the *endurance* of the saints"; and in a dozen more passages. "Have patience with me" is very well in Matthew xviii. 26, for the word has nothing to do with this cardinal virtue of the Prophets, a virtue which is one of their lasting bequests to us in the present day when labour-saving apparatus makes things easy for the workman and motor-cars add to the idleness of the idle, and we are too apt to forget "the mills of God that grind so slowly, though they grind exceeding small"—those powers and forces of nature in the soul and in the body, which sometimes, when God so wills it, refuse the assistance and alleviation of man, and throw us back on the exercise of the enduring will, so that we are fain to exclaim, "We are in the Lord's hand; let Him do what seemeth Him good." There the Prophets struck the bed-rock, the ultimate power of human nature, the power to endure.

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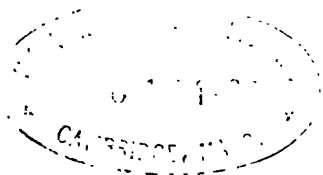
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LONDON : HODDER & STOUGHTON, 27, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.



A PARISH CLERGYMAN'S THOUGHTS ABOUT THE HIGHER CRITICISM.

SOME little time ago I was asked to read a paper on the higher criticism before the Clergy Home Mission Union. This I declined to do, as being wholly unfitted for the task. The cause of truth has suffered grievously from ignorance of the subject handled by the higher critic, and it is at least conceivable (for we are rightly told that a little knowledge is a dangerous thing) that the cause might suffer still more severely, if one who knows but little should attempt to speak as an expert. What, however, I felt that I could do was to give some account of my own thoughts and attitude on the subject. I therefore called my paper *A Parish Clergyman's Thoughts about the Higher Criticism*; my object being to answer, more or less in public, questions which I have been often asked in private: How far has the higher criticism affected me? how far has it influenced my mind and modified my teaching? how, not having the ability or learning or opportunity of becoming an expert, have I dealt with it? The question is one that all thinkers and readers of the present day must face, and my aim has been to show how the ordinary teacher meets it. For, in expressing my own thoughts on the subject, I was confident that I should express the thoughts of many. This I found to be the case, and this must be my apology for allowing my paper to appear in print; viz., that in it I am saying what many are thinking, that it puts into shape and formulates views that are shared by vast numbers of thoughtful and studious evangelicals, both of the clergy and the laity.

From this point of view, and no other, the following pages may have some slight and ephemeral value.

My aim, let me say at the outset, is twofold. First, I shall try to show that, while by no means bound to follow the critic wherever he may wish to lead, the Bible student of the present day is deeply indebted to the researches and results of the higher criticism; and in the second place, that there is nothing in what one feels oneself bound (I speak of course for myself) to accept from the critic to disturb one's faith as a believer in Christ.

With the revolutionary criticism, which is at open war with the creed of Christendom, I need hardly say I have no sympathy. "The faith of the Christian rests unceasingly on the person of Jesus, the very Reason and Word of the Father."¹ Any criticism, therefore, that is really dishonouring to Christ as the Divine Head of the Church, reducing Him to mere man, however great, however unique, is to be resisted as an enemy to the faith. The Christian religion for me stands or falls on the question of Christ's Godhead. If He be not very God as well as very Man, I give up as hopeless my search for the pearl of great price.

Now in regard to much of this revolutionary criticism it appears to me that, without pretending to the knowledge and learning that would enable one to meet the critic on his own ground, the gift of practical judgment comes to one's rescue. Am I presumptuous in saying that in this gift of practical judgment (or shall we call it common sense?) the critic of the extreme school is often lacking? As I read what is advanced by representatives of that school, I am reminded of the man who cannot see the wood for the trees. Often they appear to me to raise mountains out of mole-hills, whilst they shut their eyes to the towering difficulties of unbelief, difficulties before which unbelief has again and again fallen back baffled, if not

¹ Gore's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 177.

defeated. One sometimes longs to tear the critic from his desk and microscope, as he examines, beneath the lens of analysis,¹ some minute discrepancy or trifling contradiction, and place him on a coign of vantage, some breezy height, whence he can get a healthy, bird's-eye view of the subject, and whence the minutiae, which are engrossing his attention, will fall into their place and occupy their true relation to the whole. Without expert knowledge, I am sure a very ordinary amount of practical judgment will do much for us in the presence of the advanced critic.

Let me illustrate my meaning from one of the latest developments of the more extreme school of criticism. A learned Swiss professor assures us that we cannot point to more than nine unquestionably genuine sayings of our Lord. Such an assertion is startling indeed to those who believe that the four Gospels are the main pillars of the Faith, and who clearly see that the faith of Christendom would be more than jeopardized, if it could be proved that the Gospels are to all intents and purposes the invention of the early Church working upon legend and tradition. But surely common sense with the New Testament in its hand can deal with this contention of the advanced critic. Will nine genuine sayings or the teaching of Christ, as we have it in the Gospels, best account for the contents of the Acts and the Epistles? Where, for example, did St. Paul get his teaching about rendering tribute to those in authority (Rom. xiii. 7), his pronouncement on the subject of divorce (1 Cor. vii. 10), his note as to the washing of the saints' feet² (1 Tim. v. 10), and why, on two recorded occasions, did he shake the dust from his person as a testimony against

¹ "Critics of documents, especially Biblical documents, appear to me very seldom to know where to stop in their analysis."

"It is remarkable how critics, like apologists, are apt to go for everything or nothing."—Gore's *Dissertations*, pp. ix., 21.

² The argument is the same, whether the Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles be accepted or not.

wilful unbelief? (Acts xiii. 51; xviii. 6.) When he speaks of the Lord coming as a thief in the night (1 Thess. v. 2), and of the last trump (1 Cor. xv. 52; 1 Thess. iv. 16), and makes the *παρουσία* one of the leading features of his teaching, it is surely more reasonable to trace such utterances to the recorded words of Christ (Matt. xxiv. 27, 31, 43) than to any floating and untrustworthy tradition of the primitive Church. What again of St. Peter's allusion to Christ as the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls (1 Pet. ii. 25), his insistence upon the example of Christ (1 Pet. ii. 21), and his reference to the "corner-stone" both in his first Epistle (1 Pet. ii. 7) and in his speech before the council (Acts iv. 11)? Is St. James giving his own words or his Lord's, when he writes, "Above all things swear not, neither by the heaven, nor by the earth, nor by any other oath: but let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay"? Further, to illustrate the correspondences of thought and word alike between the Gospels and the other writings of the New Testament, we may compare the following passages: Matthew x. 33 and 2 Timothy ii. 12; Matthew v. 16 and Philippians ii. 15; Luke xii. 42, 43 and 1 Corinthians iv. 1, 2; John ii. 19, 21 and 1 Corinthians vi. 19; John viii. 36 and 1 Corinthians vii. 22; John xv. 26, 27 and Acts v. 32, x. 39; John xxi. 16 and 1 Peter v. 2¹; Matthew v. 10 and 1 Peter iii. 14; Matthew xiii. 39 and Revelation xiv. 15ff.; Matthew xxiii. 12 and James iv. 10; 1 Peter v. 6, Matthew xxiv. 30 and Revelation i. 7; Luke xxi. 8 and 1 John ii. 18; Luke xxi. 36 and 1 John ii. 28; Luke xxiii. 30 and Revelation vi. 16; John v. 27-29 and Acts x. 42, xvii. 31; John viii. 34 and Romans vi. 16 ff.; John xiii. 36, xxi. 18 and 1 Peter i. 14.

¹ Not one of the correspondences of thought and language mentioned above is amongst the nine sayings unquestioned by Schmiedel. I have not included Luke xxii. 19, 20 and 1 Corinthians xi. 24, 25, because the true text of St. Luke in this passage is very uncertain.

To the substantial, if not verbal, credibility of the Gospel record of the teaching of Christ we can bring still more abundant testimony of the Acts and Epistles. Who can read the Epistle of St. James, with its frequently recurring echoes from the Sermon on the Mount, without the conviction that the writer was familiar with the sayings recorded in Matthew v., vi., vii., and in the parallel passage in St. Luke.

Take again the First Epistle and the Gospel of St. John. Here are two documents almost without question from the same hand. Even if we set aside what we believe to be overwhelming proof of Johannine authorship, how is it possible to avoid the conclusion that the teaching of epistle and gospel alike must be traced to a common origin in One, who spake as never man spake, and whose sayings are to be found substantially, if not verbally, in the Gospel which claims to record them?¹ Again, how are we to account for the teaching of St. Paul and other New Testament writers concerning the Fatherhood of God and the work of the Holy Spirit? Deny the genuineness of Christ's utterances, as reported in the Gospels, and you reject the only and the all-sufficient source of apostolic teaching on these subjects. Or where, if not in Christ's own instruction as given by St. John, especially in xv. 1-8, shall we find a key to St. Paul's view of the relation of Christ to the believer and of the believer to Christ, the membership of the believer, the indwelling of the Christ—"abide in Me and I in you"? The same might be said in reference to the unquestioning belief of the New Testament writers in the Godhead of our Saviour.

The judgment of nineteen Christian centuries which has, on the one hand, accepted the Gospels as the necessary

¹ NOTE.—This statement would hardly have to be modified even if Professor Wendt's theory as to the origin of the gospel and epistles of St. John came to be accepted.

antecedent and groundwork of the Acts and Epistles and, on the other, the Acts and Epistles as the natural sequel and corollary of the Gospels, is a perfectly sound one, nor is it too much to say that the Acts and the Epistles prove, as well as postulate, the historicity of Jesus Christ and the genuineness of His recorded sayings.

A study of the apocryphal writings brings us to the same inevitable conclusion. It is true that the greater part of the Christian apocryphal writings dates from the fifth century onwards; but we have enough of the second century to show what might have come down to us instead of our four priceless Gospels, had the life of Jesus been a legendary tale and had but a few scattered sayings of His been treasured and preserved. Mr. Harris Cowper, the latest editor of the Apocryphal Gospels, closes his Preface with these words: "I will only add that, before I undertook this work, I never realized so completely as I do now the impassable character of the gulf which separates the genuine Gospels from these." To that impassable gulf our judgment appeals, as proof that the advanced critic, who would rob us of the historicity and the words of Jesus, is wholly mistaken. The rabbinical writings of the same period, together with such Jewish apocryphal literature as the book of Enoch, the Apocalypse of Baruch and the Assumption of Moses, will further illustrate this contention.

Taking a wider view of the question, common sense asks (and so far waits in vain for a reply), how does the extreme and naturalistic school of criticism account for the vast and imposing structure of historical and experimental Christianity without the foundation which it is trying to prove a tissue of illusion and self-deception? The Incarnation and Resurrection are denied; we are left with nine unquestionably genuine sayings of Christ; the personality of the Founder of the Church is almost obliterated; and thus a vast and towering structure is left with less than a

foundation of sand.¹ This, I contend, is a position with which the unbiassed reason of the ordinary man is as well qualified to deal as the erudition of the expert, possibly even better.

Did time permit, one might apply the same method to other branches of evidence, and especially to the internal evidences which the Bible contains of its own general and substantial veracity. We cannot, for example, shut our eyes, at the critic's bidding, to the unity, simplicity, candour that characterize the Scriptures, nor question the numerous proofs they embody of first-hand knowledge and eye-witness report; we cannot ignore those undesigned coincidences which Blunt and Paley collected but surely did not exhaust; nor can we bow to the forced and unnatural attempts which have been made to depreciate, not to say excise, the prophetic element of Scripture.

But short of the revolutionary and destructive criticism of which I have been speaking, there is much in the views now freely expressed by the higher critic, and generally accepted by the theological world, which is unsettling and disturbing to some of those whose opinions were formed in the evangelical school of an earlier generation. What effect then has this movement had upon those of us who have really faced the questions with which the modern critic deals? I venture to say that the vast majority of such inquirers have come, it may be reluctantly, to the conclusion that it is impossible to read the Bible exactly as we did when children, or even as we did forty years ago. The critic has had a hand in our training. To him we owe part of our mental and spiritual furniture. This being so, our attitude cannot be one of antagonism. We confess that, as Bible students, we are deeply indebted to modern

¹ "We cannot eliminate from history either the person or the work of Christ; and the more we discredit the recorded account of them, the more hopelessly perplexing does their supremacy become."—Illingworth, *Divine Immanence*, p. 88.

criticism ; for, if I mistake not, it has enabled us to believe in the inspiration of some portions of Holy Scripture where we had found difficulty in admitting it before, has put meaning into what was meaningless, and has illuminated what once was hopelessly obscure. And if, in the course of years, our views on unessential points have been modified and changed by the critic, it is only in accordance with a conviction that the study of religious opinion has forced upon us, viz., that it is wise, nay indispensable, to keep an open mind in reference to questions which are not vital to our faith.

I shall clear the ground and prepare the way for what follows, if I further admit that the general effect of the higher criticism has been somewhat to qualify the views of inspiration with which one started in life. We have abandoned the *a priori* views in which we were brought up, and form our ideas of inspiration inductively from the Scriptures themselves.¹ As Dr. Salmon well says, "we follow a very unsafe method if we begin by deciding in what way it seems to us most fitting that God should guide His Church, and then try and wrest facts into conformity with our preconceptions."² We resolutely bear in mind that it is the Word of God, not any human interpretation of it, that binds us. We are careful to maintain the distinction between revelation and inspiration,³ and to remember that the Old Testament is a history, not a set of theological dogmas. We no longer contend for an inspiration which excludes all human error and guarantees accuracy of detail in every particular. We accept the axiom that, in His revealed Word, God has not anticipated the results of critical and scientific inquiry; we do not "confuse inspiration with omniscience."⁴ We better understand the

¹ Otiley, *Some Aspects of the Old Testament*, p. 29.

² *Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 511. ³ Lee on *Inspiration*, p. 27.

⁴ The expression is from a passage in Canon Girdlestone's *Foundations of*

πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως of Hebrews i. 1, and the contrast which, in that verse, is drawn between Old Testament and New Testament inspiration. We acknowledge the presence and power of the Holy Spirit just as fully in the allegory, the poetry, the drama of the Bible as in the most literal and prosaic of its statements and narratives. We can understand how the Spirit of God should take legends hoary with age, the myths of an early world with their historical germ, but lack of historical substance, and so purify, elevate, spiritualize them that they became vehicles of revealed truth for all time. Finally, it is more obvious to us than it once was that, just as St. Paul as an individual appears to have been conscious of varying degrees of inspiration, so inspiration was not given in the same measure to every inspired writer; that the flight of an Isaiah, who proclaims the gospel with no uncertain sound, was immeasurably higher than that of a Nahum, who did little more than voice a world's hatred of the Assyrian power. The Church does not define inspiration, therefore demands no definition from me. But whilst, on the one hand, I utterly disown any view of inspiration which virtually eliminates the Divine guidance and authorship, I am equally on my guard against a view which, as it seems to me, would bring dishonour upon the Holy Spirit by attributing that which is admittedly imperfect to His agency. God indeed, in the old time, spake by holy men, but I do not forget that man also spake; and if we find, as unquestionably we do, discrepancies and confusion in parts of the Old Testament, I know at whose door to lay the defect.

Let me illustrate my position from various points of view, confining my remarks almost entirely to the Old Testament. 1. I will first touch upon the early chapters of

the Bible, which shows how far even the most conservative writers are prepared to go in the direction of the higher criticism.

Genesis. I cannot but think that we owe a debt of gratitude to the modern critic for making it so clear that, in the account of the Creation, the Fall and the Flood, we are not reading history in the strict sense of that word. It has (for most of us) been conclusively shown that in these chapters we are dealing with tradition, not history. Once admit the legendary or traditional character of the first eleven chapters of Genesis, and that it is just as much within the power of the Holy Spirit to fill with ethical and spiritual teaching an ancient legend, as a poem, a parable, or a vision ; and a portion of the Bible, which, if taken literally, can never cease to be a most serious obstacle to faith, becomes luminous with inspired meaning. Moreover the immeasurable gulf, from an ethical and spiritual point of view, which divides the Babylonian and Assyrian traditions from the early narratives of Genesis, is almost as forcible argument for the reality of inspiration as the contrast between the true and the apocryphal gospels.

It will be seen that the conclusion here advocated, viz., that in the early portion of Genesis we are handling not history but tradition, at once removes all cause of contention between science and revelation ; for, if the critic be right, the account of the creation, whether of the world or of man, does not pretend to be scientific. Every attempt to reconcile the first chapter of Genesis with the fully established results of science has proved a failure.¹ The process of harmonizing the two fails in many specific points, or is only carried out by most unfair use and interpretation of language. But, irrespective of detail, the unbiassed mind, which imperatively demands the natural treatment of language in the Bible as in other books, will never be persuaded that the writer of Genesis, with his

¹ The best discussion of this subject that I know is a paper by Dr. Driver in *THE EXPOSITOR*, series iii. vol. iii. p. 23, though it might perhaps be fairly maintained that the argument needs bringing up to date.

oft-repeated statement concerning evening and morning, could have meant anything but a day of twenty-four hours;¹ and whatever may be said on the difference of word used for "created" in v. 1, and for "made" in v. 16, no amount of ingenuity can eliminate the geo-centric view of the universe from vv. 14-18.

So, too, in respect of the creation and fall of man. It must be increasingly felt by the thoughtful that any idea of placing these events within the historic period of man's existence upon earth must be abandoned. It is no longer possible to reconcile the traditional interpretation of Genesis with the conclusions of anthropology, except by the forced and artificial treatment of Scripture, which provides us with a pre-Adamite man. And if the evolutionist be right, as not only the scientific world, but also a large and important section of theologians, believe him to be, then the Bible, literally interpreted, is wrong. The critic rescues us from the dilemma by showing that this portion of the Bible is not to be literally understood.

Coming to the story of the Flood, whilst to deny the fact would be to ignore an almost universal tradition as well as the statement of Scripture, it is clear both from the use of two irreconcilable accounts,² and also from the physical impossibility of what is recorded to have taken place as to the preservation of terrestrial life within the ark,³ that we are dealing not with historical, but traditional, records of the event in question.

¹ This seems to me absolutely certain from v. 5. "God called the light day, and the darkness He called night; and there was evening and there was morning, one day" (R.V.).

² The most serious discrepancy relates to the duration of the Flood. In the Prophetic narrative the whole period of the Flood is sixty-eight days; in the Priestly narrative the period exceeded a year.

³ Gen. vi. 17-22. The physical impossibility of which I speak is not materially relieved, but almost comically exaggerated, by the suggestion, which may be found in the *Speaker's Commentary*, that insects and snakes were preserved in egg-form.

That there is nothing rash or arbitrary in the belief that, in these earliest records of revelation, the Holy Spirit used tradition and legend for the purpose of instruction is shown by the fact that St. Paul,¹ St. Peter,² and St. Jude³ incorporated Jewish legend in their own inspired teaching. This New Testament use of legends does not stamp them as authentic history; they remain legends although embodied in Holy Writ; but they serve their purpose of illustration, and that is enough. If then we can without difficulty⁴ learn from legend when introduced into the New Testament, why should it surprise, much less stagger, us to find it in the first pages of the Old Testament, where its use is so much more natural and suitable. As it has been well said, "When we seek reassurance in regard to the inspiration of those books of the Old Testament to which our Lord and His Church refer us, we find it primarily in the substance of the books as they are given to us, not in any considerations of the manner in which they came into existence."⁵ We do not look in vain for this reassurance in the portion of Scripture of which I am now speaking. Take Genesis ii. and iii.⁶ as an example.

¹ 1 Cor. x. 4. The names Jannes and Jambres, 2 Timothy iii. 8, are derived from tradition.

² 1 Pet. iii. 19, probably; but certainly 2 Peter ii. 4.

³ St. Jude makes much freer use of the apocryphal writings. In v. 6 the allusion to the book of Enoch is unmistakable, and the story of Michael in v. 9 is from the assumption of Moses. This use of legend will help to remove any difficulty we may feel in St. Peter's accepting what we may deem to be a legendary accretion in the story of Balaam (2 Pet. ii. 16). The fact that St. Peter accepted the prodigy as authentic history no more makes it such than his use of the book of Enoch substantiates the teaching of that book. I am assuming the Petrine authorship, but the argument is the same whoever was the writer.

⁴ This may seem a little strained to some in view of the fact that (humanly speaking) the Epistle of St. Jude almost lost its place in the Canon of the New Testament on account of its copious use of apocryphal matter; but it must be borne in mind that it was not a critical age, in the modern sense of the term, that dealt with the question of the Canon.

⁵ *Lux Mundi*, tenth edition, p. xxiv.

⁶ As a matter of fact there are few educated teachers who would now

I can best indicate my own view by quoting the words of another writer. "All came back to life again. The second and the third of Genesis had been a difficulty for a while, but now they glowed and shone, appearing more definitely inspired than ever they had done in the old literal days. That out of all the overwhelming events of the prehistoric world, the wars and feuds and catastrophes, the founding of kingdoms on mere force and the confusions of violence, the writer should have selected to relate in full the awakening of the human conscience and the first sense of responsibility of man to his Maker, this is a wonderful thing. That out of the dimness of the very early dawn, this one event, so silent, so hidden, so utterly unnoticed by the course of the world's history, should have been thus singled out, told us in full detail with complete fidelity to psychological truth in every step, and put forward in the clearest and most attractive light as an all-important thing for us to know, and as the very deepest laid and strongest foundation stone of our redemption—here surely was not the work of man, but of God; here was true inspiration, the very inbreathing of the Most High." ¹

2. Another result of the higher criticism has been to exhibit and emphasize the inferiority of the Old Testament as a whole to the New Testament. Dealing, as it does, very plainly with the comparatively low moral standard which prevailed in the earlier ages and was even sanctioned by the Divine approval—accentuating the crude anthropomorphism of Old Testament thought and language—tracing the connexion of the religion of the Hebrew race with that of other Semitic peoples, the higher criticism brings into prominence the true relations and the relative value of the two Testaments. But is this any loss to the

publicly insist on a literal interpretation of these chapters. But there are many who continue to obscure the truth either by silence or by oracular ambiguity.

¹ EXPOSITOR, October, 1901, p. 260.

Church? Is it not rather a gain, and a gain because it represents the truth? Does it not clear the ground and contribute to establish the main issue, bringing into a real, instead of fanciful and artificial, harmony God's dealings with the world, placing upon a firm basis the progressive character of revelation?

The moral problems arising from a comparison of the Old and New Testaments cannot but cause difficulty until the key to their solution has been found. These were the rocks which threatened to wreck the Church in almost the earliest stage of her history. The Gnostic heresies represent the acutest crisis, not even excepting Arianism, that the Church has ever encountered, and the strength of Gnosticism was Old Testament exegesis. Gnosticism was to a very great extent an Old Testament question. Partly by the use of allegory, which evaded and did not meet the difficulty, partly by anticipatory rather than systematized employment of the historic method, the early Fathers dealt with these questions.¹ The Church had to some extent created the difficulty for herself; for, speaking generally, she had "taken over the Old Testament from the Jews, and, by spiritualizing it, had treated it, as many treat it still, as an earlier edition of the New."² By thus equalizing the two Testaments the Church was in imminent danger of succumbing to the assaults of Gnosticism. Yet, had the Master's method been followed, such a mistake would not have been made. Our Blessed Lord frankly recognized the rudimentary character of the Old Testament, and emphasized the imperfection of its morality as

¹ Origen's principal weapon in dealing with these points was the negative use of allegory. Irenaeus, Tertullian, Augustine, Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Ambrose, St. Basil, St. Chrysostom and others, anticipated to some extent the historic spirit in which the Old Testament is now read. The principles of educational revelation and Divine accommodation were familiar to the Fathers.

² Professor James Orr on *The Old Testament Question in the Early Church*. EXPOSITOR, series v. vol i. p. 356.

compared with that which He had come to teach, "Ye have heard that it was said to them of old time, but I say unto you." "The New Testament," it has been said, "sets us the example which modern criticism has enforced—that of reading the Old Testament with discrimination, with readiness to judge the part in the light of the whole and to recognize in each fragment its true, but not more than its true, value and function in relation to the entire organism of which it forms a part."¹ As Bishop Westcott points out in his *Lessons from Work*, there are few Old Testament difficulties which cannot be met and illuminated by the historic spirit.² Without the cultivation of this spirit the Old Testament is as full of moral difficulties and stumbling-blocks to faith for us as it was for the Gnostic of the second century; by its use the progressive character of God's revelation of Himself is recognized and becomes one of the most powerful arguments for the reality of inspiration. To a very great extent the difficulties of which I speak (and which are still the stock-in-trade of the infidel press and platform) disappear before the historic spirit. And the higher criticism has done an essential service to the faith by not only evoking and training this faculty, but by insisting upon its being brought to the study of Holy Scripture. We do not now expect to find a Christian conscience and a code of Christian ethics in the days of the Judges, we are not stumbled at the *lex talionis* and imprecatory psalms. We see that God took the conscience of each age and gradually trained it to higher views of truth and duty. We recognize the fact which Origen stated, when he said that God's gift to His rational creatures was not virtue, but the capacity for virtue. It is that capacity which God, through succeeding generations drew out and educated, until, in the fulness of time, it was ready for the manifestation of God in Christ.

¹ Otley, *Some Aspects of the Old Testament*, p. 378. ² pp. 133, 134.

3. I pass to another branch of the subject. The higher critic may sometimes admit the dramatic element where we should decline to follow him. But no one in the present day would exclude that element from Holy Scripture. We should all acknowledge that, whatever foundation of fact there may be in the story of Job, yet the book, as a whole, is the creation of the inspired poet who wrote it. The same may be said of the Song of Solomon and the book of Ecclesiastes, which was written in the name of Solomon, but certainly not by Solomon himself. This being so, we need not be surprised to find the same form of composition employed to lend effect to the allegorical teaching of the book of Jonah. No one will dispute the fact that the supposed necessity of accepting the whole story of Jonah as literally true has proved a very serious stumbling-block to faith; it will not be denied that there is no part of the Bible that so naturally exposes itself to the shafts of sceptical ridicule as this narrative. That it was interpreted as literally true by the later Jewish Church can cause no surprise, since dramatic composition soon passes for history in an uncritical age,¹ but to the majority of readers in the present day I venture to think that the allegorical character of the book has been made clear; and we are deeply indebted to the modern critic for finding a key to the literary problem of this portion of the Scriptures in Jeremiah li. 34, 44, where Nebuchadrezzar, under the figure of a sea-monster (the word is the same rendered "whale" in Gen. i.), is represented as swallowing the kingdom of Judah, but forced by Jehovah to disgorge his prey, "I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed up." So that in Jonah's sojourn in the whale's belly we have a striking picture of Judah carried into captivity for a season as a punishment for failing to discharge her mission to the Gentiles, while, in the prophet's

¹ *Lux Mundi*, p. 356.

dealings with Nineveh, we find a declaration of God's universal purposes of grace. The book, as Dr. Dale says, is "a statement of certain great truths in an imaginative form."¹

Thus, poetically interpreted, the book of Jonah is full of spiritual meaning—meaning all the more obviously inspired because the main purpose and aim of the book are so far above the level of contemporary thought. It is a book (once more to quote from Dr. Dale) "that no Jew would ever have written except under the teaching of the Spirit of God."²

¹ EXPOSITOR, series iv. vol. vi.

² Jonah Ben-Amittai lived *circ.* b.c. 780. It is not unlikely that the story of Jonah took its rise from some traditional incident in his career, but this is quite uncertain. The date of the Book is probably late. The Hebrew text of iii. 3 indicates that Nineveh had ceased to be a great city. The fall of Nineveh was in b.c. 606.

The argument for the literal interpretation of the story generally turns on Matt. xii. 40. To this it is replied that our Lord quoted Scripture according to its current interpretation. Moreover, we ourselves, without the slightest suspicion of bad faith, speak of the characters of our Lord's parables, *Pilgrim's Progress*, Shakespeare's plays, etc., as if they were real persons. It must further be borne in mind that by anticipating the slow development of natural knowledge and by dealing with His contemporaries on other than their own level, Christ would have violated the principle of the incarnation (see *Luz Mundi*, p. xxxiv.). It is, further, important to remember that the revelation of God in Christ was in the moral and spiritual, not in the intellectual sphere, and it is an *a priori* view of the incarnation and *kenosis* which would attribute omniscience to our Lord in the days of His humiliation. (On the *kenosis* see "The Consciousness of our Lord in His Mortal Life," Gore's *Dissertations*, p. 71 ff.).

But is it certain that our Lord did make direct reference to Jonah's sojourn in the whale's belly? It is remarkable that St. Luke omits this reference altogether in his report of the words, Luke xi. 30-32. The MS. authority for the allusion in St. Matthew is undeniable, but it is almost more conceivable that the Evangelist should have added v. 40 as an interpretative gloss on his Master's words than that it should have dropped out of the report which St. Luke used, had the words actually been spoken by Christ. It is obvious, moreover, that the preaching as recorded by St. Luke, and not the sojourn in the whale's belly, was the sign to the Ninevites (see Sanday's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 433; A. Wright, *St. Luke's Gospel in Greek*, p. 109; also David Smith, *EXPOSITOR*, October 1901).

For the interpretation of the book of Jonah on the lines advocated above, and from a thoroughly believing standpoint, see G. A. Smith, *Book of the Twelve*

Further, I can admit, at least as a possibility, that the hand of the dramatist has been at work in other portions of the Old Testament. I do not think that we are called upon, at this stage of the discussion, to form definite and irreversible conclusions on questions of date, authorship, composition and compilation. But believing, as I do, that the proof of Old Testament inspiration is to be sought and found in the advent of Christ, I am not going to be robbed of my faith in Him or in the Old Testament by the discussion of such matters; and even if the late date and more or less artificial character of the Chronicles and even large parts of Deuteronomy¹ should be fully established; if it should be finally proved that the spirit of the idealist prevails in these books, I can see nothing in such conclusions subversive of faith.² The dramatic spirit may conceivably find expression in Chronicles and Deuteronomy as it unquestionably does in Job and Ecclesiastes, and it would have been as natural for a Jewish writer, trained in the literary school of his own time, to put a speech into the mouth of Moses, Abijah or Solomon as into the lips of Job. The historic spirit, as Bishop Westcott reminds us, finds no difficulty in acknowledging the inspiration of writings composed in accordance with contemporary opinion on literary questions.³

4. The only other point that time will permit me to

Prophets; C. H. H. Wright, *Biblical Essays*; and Dr. Dale in the *Expositor*, July, 1902; also Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*.

¹ There is no positive evidence in support of the view that the discovery of the Book of the Law in the Temple was a got-up proceeding or that there was any fraud in what was done. All the evidence is satisfied by the hypothesis that an earlier prophet, some hundred years previously, working upon an actual and possibly written tradition of Moses' last speech, had cast this tradition into the dramatic form. See *Luz Mundi*, preface to tenth edition, p. xxix.

² The Jewish idea of history was not ours, that of a record of events. History was regarded much in the light of prophecy and the historical books were reckoned among the prophèts.

³ *Lessons from Work*, p. 134.

touch upon is the discrepancies of the Bible. When I read for Holy Orders I was led to suppose that the only real and impracticable discrepancies of Scripture were few in number, and that we probably needed but some slight connecting link to be supplied, or some side-light to be thrown upon the subject, to find them disappear. Attempts were at the same time made at reconciliation which appeared to me forced and unnatural in the last degree. The modern critic has delivered me from this artificial method of dealing with the Word of God by conclusively showing that the discrepancies are not few but many, and that the attempt to reconcile a large proportion of them is hopeless. But the effect of such a conclusion is surely no loss of faith in the inspiration of those books which contain the discrepancies, but, as I have already intimated, a modified view of their inspiration. We no longer demand that the inspiration of the writer shall be such as to guarantee him against every inaccuracy, but only that the inaccuracy shall not be such as to impair the general historic truth of the document in question. And if we find contradictions, discrepancies, anachronisms, confusion in Genesis, Joshua, Samuel, the Chronicles, Ezra or any other historical portion of the Old Testament, they no more disturb our faith in the inspiration of the narrative than the fact that Stephen was historically inaccurate in his speech before the Council robs us of our belief that the Holy Ghost was speaking through him.

We come to the same conclusion from a comparison of the Septuagint version with the Hebrew text, and a comparison of New Testament quotation with either. Had verbal accuracy, exactitude of interpretation and absence, not only of obscurity, but also of discrepancy, been of the essence of inspired Scripture, the Septuagint translation would not have differed as it does from the Hebrew text, nor would the New Testament writers have been permitted

to quote so indifferently, and not only indifferently but so loosely and independently, from both texts alike.¹

Time fails me to deal any further with the various elements of criticism ; but the question I would ask in conclusion is this, What is there, so far, in the accumulated results of unbiassed criticism to overthrow my faith as a Christian ? Bishop Gore, in his *Bampton Lectures*, says : "From the platform of belief in Christ Old Testament inspiration is unmistakeable."² How true this is ! The light that shines in the Old Testament is one that "shineth more and more unto the perfect day." And living beneath the light of the risen Sun, we plainly see that the light of the Old Testament is the light of the New Testament, and the difference (immeasurable if you like) is yet a difference only of degree.

I have admitted that, in spite of the extravagant, and I must add irrational, lengths to which some members of the critical school have gone, we owe a deep debt of gratitude to the higher critic ; and if this is not a platitude to-day, it certainly will be ten years hence. I have been speaking chiefly of the Old Testament, and I cannot but believe that the history of New Testament criticism will be repeated in that of the Old Testament. It has often been remarked that the fiery trial through which the New Testament passed more than fifty years ago has, on the whole, resulted in greatly reassuring the Christian Church as to the historical and literary foundations of her faith ; and I say this in the

¹ Thus we find that St. John changes the language of the LXX. in John i. 23, xii. 40, xix. 37.

For instances of looseness of quotation, we may examine Acts xv. 16 ff. ; Rom. ix. 27, xi. 3, 4 ; 1 Cor. xiv. 21, xv. 54 ; Gal. iv. 30. New Testament writers sometimes, probably, quoted from memory.

In Hebrews the writer usually follows the LXX., even when it differs materially from the Hebrew text ; sometimes he deserts both texts, substituting a free paraphrase or quoting from memory. See Swete's *Introduction to the LXX.*, pp. 398-402.

² p. 195. Cp. also *Lux Mundi*, p. xxxviii.

face of such criticism as, for English readers, is represented by the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, the very extravagance of which in many instances will prove its own refutation. It is, perhaps, not so often pointed out that the now antiquated criticism of which I speak has left its mark in a material change of attitude towards the study of the New Testament, viz., in a freer, less arbitrary view of inspiration, and a more open mind in regard to matters that do not touch the vitals of our faith. So I believe it will be—nay, with many of us has been—in respect of the criticism of the Old Testament. Its effect has been twofold. On the one hand, we come to the study of the Old Testament, not in a less reverent, but in a more natural spirit of inquiry; with less rigid, less *a priori*, but not less decided views of inspiration; with a mind, moreover, less easily perturbed by the unexpected and problematical, more ready to wait for further search and light. On the other hand, the general effect of criticism has been not to weaken, but strengthen our conviction in the Divine guidance under which those ancient records were produced, and to make more clear to our faith the pathway of type and promise by which God led the world into the presence of its Saviour.

At the same time, grateful as I am to the critic, I have a great idea (I hope I am not presumptuous in saying so) of keeping him in his place. It seems to me that to the critic is often conceded a position which does not really belong to him. He does not hold the key of the position. In his own sphere of scholarship and literary analysis, in questions of chronology and historical interpretation he may be supreme, but not in the sphere of evidence, and he must not be allowed to divert our mind from the really fundamental and convincing arguments for the truth as it is in Jesus Christ. Multitudes are drifting from the essentials of the Faith because they are under the mistaken impression that the higher critic has swept the foundations from

beneath their feet and made it unreasonable to believe. The inevitable effect of exaggerating objections is to minimize and depreciate proofs, and there is a real danger of becoming so preoccupied and engrossed with more or less superficial difficulties, whether raised by criticism or otherwise, as to lose hold of the great outstanding evidences, which make it easier to believe than disbelieve the Christian revelation.¹

The certainty we feel in regard to our faith is through the convergence of many lines of evidence, some appealing to the mind, some to the spirit, the majority of them to mind and spirit alike, but forming, in the aggregate, a mass of cumulative evidence on which we rest secure. Now, if we should tabulate the main proofs to which, as Christians, we appeal, we might be almost surprised to find how little they are affected by the higher criticism, always excepting that purely destructive form of criticism which denies the supernatural. In perfect independence of the higher critic (whatever he may have to say as to the details of the subject) I can point to the history of the Jewish nation from its call in Abraham to the present day ;² I can see—nay, I can watch—as I read the pages of ancient history, God's providential preparation for His Christ outside the limits of the chosen people ;³ I can trace the pathway of promise in the Old Testament, and claim the evidence of prophecy ; I carry on the argument of fulfilled prophecy

¹ On the importance of keeping the question of inspiration distinct from that of criticism, see an admirable passage in Illingworth's *Personality, Human and Divine*, pp. 181-5.

² "A sceptical prince once asked his chaplain to give him some clear evidence of the truth of Christianity, but to do so in a few words, because a king had not much time to spare for such matters. The chaplain tersely replied, 'The Jews, Your Majesty.'"—Liddon's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 97, 4th edition.

³ Much has been written—and forcibly written—on this subject. I should like to draw attention to the masterly essay in *Lux Mundi*, by the present Bishop of Rochester, on the Preparation in History for Christ. Printed as a pamphlet, this essay would be a most powerful "aid to faith" amongst the educated.

into the New Testament, and no critic will persuade me that the words of Christ and His Apostles have had no fulfilment in the history of the Christian dispensation.¹ Taking the Bible as a whole, and comparing it with the sacred writings of other religions, it is to me impossible to conceive of a purely human authorship. Disregarding anything and everything that the most revolutionary criticism may say, I can appeal to the greatest of all Christian evidences, viz., the unique and transcendental Personality of Jesus Christ, the Catholicity, as it is well called, of His Manhood and (to the spiritual instinct) the self-attesting union of the Divine and human in His person. I can fall back, as we all of us do again and again, upon the amply attested fact of His resurrection, that great miracle of power, carrying with it the credibility of other miracles.² From the Resurrection my thoughts pass to the conversion and career of St. Paul, and that career³ summons to my mind the rapid spread of the Christian faith to every part of the known world. I recall the moral triumphs of Christianity, and how, more and more, as time went on, Christ was recognized as a universal conscience. Finally, I make my appeal to Christian experience; that is to say, I look into my own heart and the heart of the world and acknowledge Christ's marvellous power, His all-sufficiency to meet that spiritual need of man, which is essentially the same

¹ "The Gospels are full of prophecy."—Illingworth's *Divine Immanence*, p. 91. The author proceeds to show that nineteen centuries of fulfilled prophecy may well appeal to us, as signs and wonders appealed to our Lord's contemporaries. While every century, to some extent, lessens the evidential value of the miracles, every century increases the value of the prophecy.

² This is not to say that the higher criticism does not attack, and has nothing forcible to say against the Gospel account of the Resurrection; but the narrative rises superior to the criticism directed against it, and is supported by a chain of evidence which has borne the strain of nineteen centuries.

³ I would especially refer to Professor Ramsay's treatment of St. Paul in *The Church in the Roman Empire*, and *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, as very helpful. Ballard, in his *Miracles of Unbelief*, writes forcibly upon this subject, p. 177 ff.

from age to age. And where does the higher criticism stay my thoughts? how does it give the lie to the great arguments and proofs on which I rest? I had them before I even knew what "higher criticism" meant. I have them now that I know what the higher critic has to say. Whatever he may do with details, he does not touch my faith in Christ. Sometimes, in facing the questions raised by criticism, as in facing the questions of philosophy, or of one's own mind, one may be baffled and perplexed; but surely the very perplexity works out God's purpose in throwing us back on Christ Himself, and we say, to quote the words of the old hymn in a somewhat different sense from that intended by the writer:

"Thou, O Christ, art all I want;
More than all in Thee I find."

G. S. STREATFEILD.

THE BRIGHT AND MORNING STAR.

THE twofold description of Jesus which occurs at the close of the book of Revelation (xxii. 16) is probably Messianic in both of its features:

*I am the scion and the offspring of David,
The bright star of the morning.*

The first part of the former title has been already used by the prophet in another connexion (v. 5). An Isaianic reminiscence and category, it denotes the legitimacy of Christ's position as the true Messiah—an anti-Jewish idea which underlies all the book. Jesus is the real Messiah, the authentic heir of Israel's hopes and history. His own people know this now, and the Jews will know it to their shame and sorrow at the end (i. 7). The Davidic descent of Jesus from the tribe of Judah was a tenet to which certain Christian circles in the first century attached keen importance, and the prophet John twice reproduces it in his

conception of Christ's personality. Jesus to him was, in one aspect which had been hallowed by Jewish associations of the Messiah, the shoot or sapling thrown out by the main stem. It is possible, that in the first passage at any rate, some allusion may be intended to the contrast (suggested by the original) between the weak, mean origin and the irresistible courageous career. But in both descriptions it is to be noted that Christ's Davidic descent as the Messiah is connected with his authority in revelation; as the legitimate Messiah he unfolds God's redeeming purpose for mankind, and by his victorious inauguration of that purpose he possess the right and power of unbaring the truth of his own person to the churches.

The second clause of the title, which adds prospect to retrospect, is less obvious. Jesus the historic scion is intelligible; Jesus the heavenly star seems a less apt and congruous description. But as the Dawn (*ἀνατολή*, Luke i. 78) was already a Messianic symbol, it was natural that the Day-Star should be similarly employed by a poetic and imaginative mind. The glory of the high priest Simon ben Onias had been compared (Ecclus. vii. 6) to the morning-star (*ἀστὴρ ἑωθινός*) in the midst of a cloud; in Test. XII. Patriarch. (Levi 18) it is said of the Messianic high priest, *ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον αὐτοῦ ἐν οὐρανῷ ὡς βασιλεύς (-εως?) φωτίζων φῶς γνώσεως* (see Enoch xxxviii. 2); and Ps. cx. 3 is rendered in the Septuagint *ἐκγαστρος πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐξεγέννησά σε*. To these Messianic suggestions of this phrase in the Apocalypse of John, an Egyptian anticipation falls to be added—one of several which indicate that the writer and his circle may have been familiar with the widespread and ancient terminology of one Egyptian eschatological lore. In Egyptian hymn (see Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge's edition of *The Book of the Dead*, 1898: *The Translation*, p. cxliii.) the dead King Pepi, it is said, "goeth forth into heaven among the stars which never perish (*or*, diminish), and his guide the

Morning-Star leadeth him to Sekhet-Hetep [the fields of peace], and he seateth himself there upon his iron throne [cf. Rev. iii. 21] . . . and his sceptre he hath with him." Such are some possible sources of this figurative expression. But the very circumstances of the local churches must have lent it special force. In the northern districts of Asia Minor, as Pliny remarks, it was the habit of Christians to meet before daybreak for their first act of worship. Accustomed to step out of their meeting-place into the cold, grey dawn, lit only by the solitary morning star, how readily would they understand this symbol of their Lord as the one sure hope and promise of the good time to come in this world and in the next. Wherever a Christian went, Christ's light would be over him; whatever happened to him on either side of death, nothing could hinder Christ's light and care from reaching him. Such was their profound and simple apprehension of his person. To wait for their Lord was, in a deeper sense than the psalmist knew, to watch for the morning.

It is this primarily eschatological sense of the term which dominates the earlier promise in the message addressed to the Christians of Thyatira :

*As for him who conquers and keeps my works until the end...
I will grant him the star of the morning.*

According to the characteristically loose usage of the term *give* in the Apocalypse as in Ezekiel, staunch adherence to the faith and principles of Christ is to be rewarded by the enjoyment (not, the possession) of that Messianic age which is to dawn upon the faithful after the dark night of their afflictions. To be "granted the morning-star" means that a man will not miss the light of eternal life. The star, as a natural Semitic symbol of divinity and immortality, is employed thus figuratively to denote the daybreak of bliss which visits the faithful followers of Jesus, and the general idea corresponds to that reflected in several passages of the

Ignatian epistles: e.g. (speaking of his martyrdom, *Rom.* ii. 2) *it is good to set (δύναι) from the world unto God, that I may rise (ἀνατελῶ) unto him*, or (*ibid.* vi. 2) *suffer me to receive the pure light, for I shall be a man* (i.e. mature and complete) *when I have arrived thither*. In both passages of Revelation, therefore, it is obvious that the "morning-star" stands similarly for an eschatological symbol of immortality; in the second it is definitely connected with the personality of Jesus himself, to bring out the personal aspect of what has been already defined in the context as a historic revelation, or to suggest that Jesus was conscious of having fulfilled the past and of having authority to determine the future of his people.

But while each of the two phrases has its native significance, the point of the description seems to lie in their combination.¹ Rays, from above and from below, fall upon the character of Jesus and reveal it in two complementary aspects, filling out a definition of what he lives to be for his people and of how he lives to succour and to satisfy them.

Jesus the scion or sapling is Jesus the star. The distinctive note of Christianity is that man's relation to God, as well as God's revelation to man, is mediated through Christ. The prophet John urges this at the very outset of his book, and insists on it throughout. *He made us a realm of priests to his God and Father: the revelation of Jesus Christ which God granted him to show his servants: lo, the scion of David has conquered, so that he can open the book: they conquered their accuser by the blood of the Lamb: and so forth*. This final relation between man and God is not in the air. It is no vague pantheism or intangible idea, no reproduction of a pale, barren, noble relationship. Perfect

¹ It is remarkable that ἀνατολή should be used in the LXX. for the Messianic "branch" in Jer. xxiii. 5, Zech. iii. 8, vi. 12. Can this double usage of the word, in reference to a plant sprouting and to a star rising, underlie the combination of imagery in Rev. xxii. 16. With Rev. xxii. 15 and 16 compare the description of ἐως φάρος in Job xxxviii. 12-15 as an ethical power.

without being abstract, ideal without being visionary, definite without being limited, historical without being nationalistic, the Christian faith is rooted in the soil of human history. Such is the implication of this prophet's imagery. We have to do, it is suggested or rather claimed, with a divine process which takes concrete form. The redeeming purpose of God in Christ is introduced through the facts and feelings of human existence, and through these it continues to be worked out. This among other traits differentiates it from the rarefied and esoteric varieties of most contemporary cults. Amid our days and ways the divine Redeemer appeared; so pleads the prophet John. And although in the book of Revelation the exigencies of subject and method do not lead to any particular emphasis upon the historical aspect of Jesus, there is no trace here, any more than throughout the rest of the New Testament writings, that any sense of incongruity was felt in the manifestation of the divine life amid man's discipline and experience.

I am the bright star of the morning. These words, as has been already pointed out, have a Messianic significance which primarily referred to the next world; they denote Jesus as the pledge of immortality and the assurance of eternal life with all its warmth and light. But their aim is more than eschatological here. This is a revelation of Jesus *for the churches*, with meaning and value for the present experience of the faithful. It assures them that there is always a morning for faith. These Asiatic Christians had good cause to be depressed by the appearance of things inside and outside the church; the intrusion of error and immorality and indifference among members of their congregations was accompanied by the overbearing force of the Imperial authority with a demand for worship of the Emperor which cut at the very roots of Christianity. Yet how bravely their prophet turns them to the shining fact of Christ! The keynote of the book is that the rela-

tion and revelation of Jesus to the world forbids despair, that his personality and position justify Christians in cherishing great expectations, that the patience of the saints is a matter of faith, and that faith depends upon the experience of what Jesus is and has done for men; to lose heart means that one is losing faith, fearing that the force and brilliance of Christianity have spent themselves. Such is the implicit message of this book. Towards the close of the first century, when new and threatening developments were rising in the relation of the State to the church and of Hellenic thought to belief, there was evidently a temptation to see little upon the horizon but the signs of a grey, sombre evening or the last radiance of an Oriental cult which had run its course and was now to rank with the swarming, ephemeral varieties of contemporary religion.¹ One distinctive aim of the book of Revelation is to rally faith in the permanent and pre-eminent value of Jesus to the world. *God and the Lamb* shine down upon its pages, and it is only familiarity which dulls the modern mind to the magnificent faith involved in that collocation. Belonging to our world as its Redeemer and ideal, in vital connexion with the facts and feelings of human life, Jesus assures faith that God's Spirit is to advance and expand within this world; with the relationship of Christ to men in view, no one can reasonably doubt God's increasing purpose or fail to find encouragement in the thought that more is yet to stream into the world through God's revelation and redemption in Jesus. In watching *him* from hour to hour, hope

¹ The exacting thing for most Christians at this period was not so much to join, as to adhere permanently to the Christian community. The centrifugal tendencies were powerful, not only through the danger and odium attached to membership, but owing to the prevailing feeling, particularly in volatile Hellenic circles, that Christianity was a sect or phrase which could be exhausted and left behind, like a philosophic school (Acts xix. 9; cp. Heb. x. 25; Ignat. *ad Ephes.* xiv., etc.). All promise of advance and completeness, the prophet John argues, lies in holding to the church and to faith; it is in the church that revelation and renewal exist, and the church depends on Christ.

indeed cannot hope too much. He spells recuperation and progress and completion for all in touch with him; he is the bright star of the dawn, that heralds warmth and light to come. Insight into his heavenly position means a foresight of hope and patience, which helps any one to see that God's power is not spent or slackening. And this penetration is inherent in faith. To the experience of the redeemed there is ever something permanent and promising in the relation of Christ to his people, something that falls like a shaft of light across the commonplace and tragedy of this 'wide world and all her fading sweets.'

All this and more the prophet John saw in the person of Jesus. At the thought of Jesus, risen, reigning, and returning, his heart leapt up with a glow of confidence which was all the deeper that he felt there was infinitely more in his Lord than he had yet seen or conceived. Without extravagance or shallow sentimentalism, he knew that to be in touch with Christ was to have the sense of inexhaustible resources in him, whatever crises or checks the future might have in store. He is in fact *the morning-star*, a grateful vision in the cold, dark dawn, but especially to be valued as the prelude and pledge of coming bliss, of help which is on its way to man from God steadily if slowly. Faith has its perspective, and the vista is luminous. The natural exhilaration that visits us with every morning, the banishment of sombre and foreboding thoughts, the impulse that sends the healthy man out to his labour, the feeling that amid the trivial and fading and contradictory there is still something to be lived for, something perhaps of immeasurable scope to be unfolded, the persistent hopefulness which struggles up in the most depressed at the advent of the day—all this faintly corresponds to the sense of lifting and revival which comes over man at the sight and experience of Christ. Expectation is the reasonable mood of the soul towards the living Jesus, when the truth of his

position and purpose breaks upon the mind. He is the luminous proof that God's redeeming work is persistent if it is anything, no evanescent or intermittent thing, but essentially a part of the natural order of man's experience and discipline, to be fulfilled as deliberately as the dawn which never yet has failed. And all this bespeaks courage for the feverish or the desponding. "The dawn at my window," wrote Richard Jefferies, "ever causes a desire for larger thought, the recognition of the light at the moment of waking kindles afresh the wish for a broad day of the mind. There is a certainty that there are yet ideas further, and greater—that there is still a limitless beyond . . . The dim white light of the dawn speaks it. This prophet which has come with its wonders to the bedside of every human being for so many thousands of years faces me once again with the upheld finger of light." That is precisely the impression made by Jesus upon faith. One feels that untold possibilities are opening up and that the capacities of experience are not yet exhausted. Things never seem quite so heavy or bewildering or disheartening when the night passes from the sky; and a similar sense of movement and ripening energy is conveyed to the heart when a man lifts his eyes from poverty of aim and thwarting limitations and ineffectual struggles to realize the eternal meaning of Jesus to the human race as well as the unspeakable possibilities in store for men through his revelation and redemption. This star brightens above all souls, and shall brighten to the end. Such is the conviction of any one who, like this prophet, in the midst of his ways and works has found Christ able to reassure the bewildered and stimulate the depressed by an access of steady, even buoyant, confidence which resembles nothing so much as the genial exhilaration and vigour of the morning hours. A sense of rich prospect occupies the mind. Enterprise ceases to be merely a dream. Imaginary terrors vanish, and even those which are real

assume something like their true proportions. For, in religion at any rate, of the three treasures which Coleridge declared were held by man—love, light, and regular calm thoughts, the third is the product of the second.

All this depends, however, upon the unique and lonely holiness of Christ. He is the bright star, shining above the dust of the land and the spume of the sea, a scion of David yet a star in heaven. Probably this idea also is intended by the prophet in his paradoxical combination of titles; in Christ's very identification of himself with man's interests, his innate pre-eminence had been revealed; or, as an earlier writer had put it, *the proper high priest for us was One holy, guileless, undefiled, separated from sinners, and made higher than the heavens*. The present passage, then, is a figurative expression of this early Christian conviction that the hope of the world lay in One who was unworldly. Even for perfected man the river of the water of life ran from the throne of God *and of the Lamb*. That is, all advance of the soul deepens the sense of obligation to Christ, and by no increase of likeness to him do men cease to be in his debt. Christ's authority is vested ultimately in his difference from us. It is his ideal and absolute holiness, with its specific moral pre-eminence, which constitutes his eternal power of attracting and satisfying the ages. Alone and for all time he shines out as the incomparable, unapproachable Lord, able to redeem and entitled to sway just because sin found in him no place. The scion or sapling is the star. Christ elicits the hope and trust of men, not as one of themselves, nor even as a genius of their race, but as the heavenly Lord. Heaven itself is unintelligible apart from the throne of God *and of the Lamb*, so little does the future development of life transcend or even equal Jesus. He can pardon, for example, because he never needed forgiveness, and yet came into our life to bring that gift to men. His sinlessness is the spiritual treasure, the indispensable hope, the regenerating energy of the

world, and the conviction of it comforts and rallies those who realize that they can find in his superhuman consciousness a stable ground amid the imperfections of the universe.

It fortifies my soul to know
That, though I perish, Truth is so :
That, howsoever I stray and range,
Whate'er I do, Thou dost not change.
I steadier step when I recall
That, if I slip, Thou dost not fall.

Latent in the personality of Jesus is a factor which, so far from being explained upon ordinary methods of psychology, becomes explicable only as men see that it is itself the explanation of all his influence. And this conviction of his absolute purity, for which no formula suffices, brings with it a sense of moral stability. Here, men say to themselves, is a light upon which no shadows of imperfection were ever suffered to encroach, one who has the right to pardon and the power to nerve beaten wills for new struggles against evil, because his own course was unswerving and undeflected by temptation.

He is, in short,
The star to every wandering bark,
Whose worth's unknown although his height be taken.

Yet, rich and promising as all this may be, it would not, by itself, be adequate to the complete demands and situation of the soul. What is merely aesthetic and ideal tends ultimately to debility when confronted by the needs of life. A star is fair and bright. But a star is distant, after all ; it is too far away to be intimate, too brilliant to be tender. Cold and remote and gleaming, it looks down impassively upon men struggling by land and sea. Our need and call is for a Son of man as well as for a Son of God, for an object of reverence and trust which is more than an idea, for help that is better than an ideal. If the transcendent quality of Jesus is man's hope, it must be realized and accessible in human affinities. So Jesus the star is Jesus the scion of David's

lineage, *the root and offspring of David*. His sinlessness is no deduction from Messianic categories, and his aid is brought to men along the lines of human experience and through the channel of sympathy and suffering; it is not a mere boon handed down out of a high heaven. Otherwise it would be no dynamic in religion. It is a primary condition of true aspiration and veneration that men should be brought thus into touch with One who has entered their very life and fulfilled amid its imperfections and limitations the infinite perfection which is at once their destiny and their despair. This it is that makes faith operative and effective. No doubt, one of the first gains secured by man from the human experience of Jesus is the assurance of sympathy and comprehension which it affords. Also, there is a conviction that the life is practicable, that holiness is not foreign to our nature, and that Jesus supplies the energy as well as the exemplar. But more than this, the actuality and personality of Jesus as Lord delivers men from the feeling of dilution and vacancy which haunts ordinary conceptions of the moral ideal. As Martineau finely puts it, in his famous essay upon "Ideal Substitutes for God," in words which we at any rate cannot help applying to Christ; "when I am awed and subdued before the grace and grandeur of a moral superior, it is not because he *suggests*, but because he *realizes*, a higher conception of excellence: it is as a living agent, as a personal embodiment of righteousness, that he wields authority over my conscience. Take away this element, tear the picture out of the volume of true history and cast it to the transient winds of imagination, and all is immediately changed. . . . If I have gained any new variety of thought, it is simply added to my culture, but does not transform my life. *Here* it is that moral idealism falls short of the condition of religion, because its ideal perfection is known to be only in our heads, whilst the ideal of religion must be also real." Yes, the star must be a sapling, the

word must become flesh, else the heart and centre of Christianity becomes extinct. *Morning by morning doth He bring His justice to light : His going forth is sure as the morning.* Theories or ideas about Him are helpless on the field of moral issues. To herald redemption, revelation in its highest form must be personal and historical.

If the star is the scion, if the absolute ideal of Jesus is mediated through a historical process and an individual experience, one further inference is that the salvation of men was a long and special purpose of God, heralded beforehand. Two contemporary tendencies assailed this truth, when the prophet John wrote his book. By one set of thinkers the Old Testament was unduly depreciated, and its value as a preparation for the Gospel either ignored or undervalued. By another class of people, the gospel was being viewed as a semi-intellectual process, which might be rendered largely, if not entirely, independent of the historical Jesus. These tendencies are fully encountered in the Fourth Gospel and the First Epistle of John ; but even in this book of Revelation, where apocalyptic and Messianic categories did not give adequate room for at any rate the second aspect to be displayed, hints of the controversy are not wanting. And the present passage forms one of these retrospective allusions. In one sense Jesus was a climax. The eternal redemption of Jesus, the prophet points out, came in the line of Hebrew expectations as the outcome of a long providential process worked out through a chosen people. The gospel does not start up abruptly out of the ages. If it is in no sense antiquarian, neither is it a sudden thought of God ; no swift impulse of mercy, it is in a real sense retrospective. Behind it lies a deep counsel of providence, stretching down especially through the Messianic hope of Israel and culminating in One who was born in the fulness of time within a Jewish circle, and at the same time destined to shine down upon all men. It is substantially

the idea enforced by Paul over thirty years before. Christ, he told the Roman Christians, did become *a minister of the circumcision*, and it was in order to make good God's promises to the Hebrew patriarchs; a Jew by birth, he lived and worked directly for the Jews of his own land, thereby vindicating God's honesty, and showing that Hebrew yearnings and forecasts had not been in vain. But, the apostle continued, there was a further aim in his historical appearance. The ultimate end was *that the Gentiles might glorify God for his mercy*. Similarly in this passage the prophet John suggests on the one hand that Jesus was definitely Jewish, the crown and issue of God's historical providence in Israel, justifying earlier anticipations and fulfilling previous hopes, and upon the other hand that his final object was to bring light to the whole world. A star does not shine within fences. The dawn is not for a nation or for a sect. The language of the Revelation has indeed led many interpreters to see in it a preference assigned to the Jew, as though Jewish Christians were the nucleus of God's people, whilst Gentile Christians are admitted upon a secondary footing. A more careful examination of the language and contents of the book will show, I think, that this impression is not well founded; it is not necessary, and it seems hardly legitimate, to find the Jew even *primus inter pares* in the visions of the Revelation. What lends this idea plausibility is the author's use of nationalistic imagery and of archaic figurative terms which might be pressed into such a sense by a literalistic mode of interpretation. But the vital conceptions of the book show that the author has passed far beyond any such purview.

*Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed for God, by thy blood,
Men from every tribe, and tongue, and people, and nation.*

The man who could hail Jesus in those terms may surely be acquitted of any particularistic bias. Jesus the Davidic scion is Jesus as he appears historically first of all

in the world's history, and this definite historical element is an indispensable part of his being. But the scion is the heavenly star. There is nothing narrowly national or isolated or foreign about him. Obscure and remote as his historical environment was, even to those Asiatic Christians of the second generation and much more to succeeding generations in the Eastern and Western hemispheres, the striking fact remains that all varieties of religious experience, however different and distant, are at home with him. Instinctively the conscience feels that he is at the centre, that no change of civilization can put the essentials of his person or his message out of date, that any parochial or narrow tinge is absent from his principles. The local and historical element in his gospel lends reality to it without affecting its power of reaching the diverse tastes and tempers of humanity or of enabling men to recognize in it what bears directly and divinely upon themselves. Through the conditions of local and temporal existence, the light in him gleams through and shines out upon mankind. The net result is that for the Christian experience the impression made by Jesus is exempt from that weariness which besets all merely typical figures, as well as from the sense of limitation and foreignness which besets many heroic characters from whom the revolutions of time or civilization have separated after-ages. Through Christ the personal relations between man and God, which are essential to morality as well as to religion, are adequately guaranteed, nor is the gain in intensity counterbalanced by any corresponding loss in scope and permanence of appeal. Being the sapling, Christ is none the less the star.

In connexion with the New Jerusalem it was consonant that Jesus should be hailed as the scion of David who had been the founder of the original Jerusalem, just as the title of "morning star," at the dawn of the new creation,

harmonizes with the Semitic figure of the original creation when the morning stars sang together for joy. But one essential point of both descriptions is the principle that as the revelation of Christ produces communion, so communion verifies the revelation and places man in the right attitude for recognizing and welcoming the truth of Christ: that while we cannot see Christ without loving and serving his cause in all loyalty, no one can apprehend him truly except from a life devoted to his service. In other words, the proper focus for this revelation of Christ is to be found in nothing less than faith, in the common faith of the Christian society which his spirit has created and controls: *I, Jesus, have sent my angel to testify these things to you for the Churches.* The purpose of revelation is intercourse, which means that the redeemed understand the Redeemer. Historical investigation and the ordinary methods of critical research by themselves do not lead to much more than the aspect of Jesus as the Davidic scion, the more or less limited outcome of a historical environment. Obviously the criterion is inadequate, for it is only in his influence and creative power that he can truly be read. Semi-agnostic or philosophic appreciations of his person, either from the speculative or the dogmatic standpoint, obtain glimpses of a sublime ideal in him, which tends to become vague and cold and unimpressive. Both methods are useful but partial. Only the experience, and obedience of faith can do anything like justice to the two elements of his personality. The consciousness of redemption alone feels the need of both categories. As the prophet John asserted, against the Jews, that Jesus was the genuine Messiah, and against pagan tendencies, that he was not one of many lights but *the* light, supreme and final: so faith still possesses its native outlook upon One who is Lord of the church and the faithful because he is at once beyond and above either the Jesus of a naturalistic criticism which

sees in him little or nothing beyond a religious genius of profound historical significance, for whom his environment and the past of his nation substantially afford all adequate explanation, or the Christ of idealistic theories, who is practically a personified distillation of excellence, the bloodless symbol of noble aspiration or an intangible, impalpable medium of more or less speculative ideals. The Jesus of the church and of faith is at once star and sapling; not otherwise can he be accounted for. To be either alone would be insufficient. To be both is to be impressive and inspiring; to be the ideal of man clothed upon with all the reality and appeal and expression of life, to be human and historical and yet capable of universal significance and eternal attraction, this constitutes the distinctiveness and glory of Jesus as Lord. No lesser classification avails to embrace the full content of his personality, and the experience of faith—a faith which is neither indolent nor selfish—amply verifies both predicates. As early as the first century it was not speculative acuteness or mere historical acquaintance with tradition, but the experience of redemption and the demands of the contemporary crisis alike which led the prophet John with steady cheer and confidence to lay stress upon this attitude towards Jesus. His design was to show his readers the *Lamb standing as if slain*, the star that had been a scion or sapling, the union in Christ of a definite historical experience with its warm breath and intimate acquaintance, and of an eternal wealth of spirit which shone out fresh and full at every successive stage of men's chequered experience. Both notes were needed for the perfect chord of revelation, and both are struck by the prophet with loud, lingering emphasis, ere he dismisses his readers for the conflict which awaited them. Enough for them that they could look up to One who had perfect comprehension of their situation and as perfect resources to meet their demands, One who could guarantee a future to fealty

and trust. The sight of that would make them less forlorn. Verve and impetus would certainly revive.

Like a flock of rooks at a farmer's gun
Night's dreams and terrors, every one,
Fled from the brains which are their prey
From the lamp's death to the morning ray.
All rose to do the task He set to each
Who shaped us to His ends and not our own;
The million rose to learn, and one to teach—

One from whom the wisest has always something still to learn, the strongest something still to ask. Shadows of opposition and uncertainty, of confusion and illusion, may gather round the devoted and the faithful. That is not denied. But, as the prophet says, these are not final in the divine order of things. For the experience of faith the morning is up; Jesus is upon the horizon, an incentive as well as an example, a shaping and satisfying spirit as well as an incentive, for God's cause, God's church, and God's people. Inimitable, promising, divine, he cannot either wane or cease to inspire and content those who lift eyes of hope and of need to rest upon his person. *Sunlight and morning-star*, is the watchword. It does not mean a gush of thin sentiment rebounding from panic, it does not involve extravagant fancies or short views of the world or any crude forgetfulness of the contradictions and obscurity and sluggishness in human nature. But it does mean, if it means anything at all, that by visiting the world in Jesus Christ God has thrown light upon the purpose of human history, and that consequently the ultimate basis of hope rests not upon what men see in Christ, but upon what He sees in them. His insight, his faith in us, is the final source of confidence. His revelation and redemption prove the value set by God upon the trust and endeavours of the human soul, which are not waking dreams, but the outcome of a spiritual movement which justifies them by the faithfulness and adequacy of its response to their appeal. To

the experience of his people Christ guarantees the fidelity of God and also the entire reasonableness of these human aspirations to which he supplies at once the standard and the spring. Hence, as usual, to look up to this Fact and Figure means to be lifted up. The motive-power in life is the direction of the heart. We stand faithful, as *we run our course with patience*—not by elaborate calculations of resources and obstacles, or by agonizing introspection, but—*looking*, looking away, looking up, to *Jesus* on the grey discouraging sky of circumstances.

JAMES MOFFATT.

OUR LORD'S USE OF COMMON PROVERBS.

IT was a wise and far-reaching maxim of the ancient Rabbis that "the Law spoke in the tongue of the children of men." And when our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, of whom the Scriptures had testified, appeared in the flesh, He also spoke in the tongue of the children of men. Like the greatest of His apostles, it was not with excellency of speech or of wisdom that He came proclaiming the mystery of God. His teaching was more profound and wonderful than any philosophy, yet He clothed it in homely language such as the simplest could understand, and found heavenly parables in the rude employments of the Galilean peasantry. This characteristic of our Lord's teaching is sufficiently obvious, yet there is one evidence of it, and perhaps the most striking of all, which is apt to escape the modern reader. It is His frequent use of common proverbs—homely and pithy sayings which were often on the lips of the people and which helped to lodge His instruction in their hearts. It is well worth while to take account of this element in His teaching; for not only is it a revelation of the genial kindness of Him who spake as never man spake that He should

have deigned to make use of the quaint and often humorous maxims so dear to the common folk, but there are not a few obscure passages which are illumined as by a flood of light when their proverbial character is recognized.

1. "*It is yet four months and the harvest cometh*" (John iv. 35). It is usual to discover here a note of chronology. The harvest in Palestine began in April, early enough sometimes for the unleavened bread of the Passover, which was celebrated in the middle of the month, to be baked of new flour;¹ and, if it was four months before harvest, then it would be in December that Jesus came to Sychar on His way from Jerusalem to Galilee. This view, however, is open to insuperable objections. December is in the rainy season, and with every wayside brook running full Jesus would not have been thirsty when He reached Jacob's Well or needed to crave a drink from the woman's pitcher (cf. Ps. cx. 7). Nor is it likely that He had spent eight months in Judæa after the Passover. He had retired from Jerusalem probably to the scene of His baptism in order to collect His thoughts and brace Himself for the work that lay before Him, and His seasons of repose were ever few and brief. "We must work the works of Him that sent Me while it is day. The night is coming when no man can work" (John ix. 4) was the constant language of Him who came to achieve the world's redemption; and it is incredible that of the three years assigned Him for the accomplishment of that mighty task He should have spent eight months in meditative inactivity. Moreover, the explanation which the Evangelist gives of the enthusiastic reception accorded Him by the Galileans (iv. 45) implies that His miracles at Jerusalem during the Passover-season were fresh in their memories.²

¹ Orig. *In Joan.* xiii. § 39: *θερισμός οὖν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἀρχεται γίνεσθαι περὶ τὸν παρ' Ἑβραίοις καλούμενον Νίσαν μῆνα, ὅτε ἀγεται τὸ Πάσχα, ὡς ἐτίστε τὰ ἀζύμα ἀπὸ νέου σίτου αὐτοῦς ποιεῖν.*

² Orig. *ibid.*: *ὡς νεωστὶ τοῦ Πάσχα προγεγεννημένου καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ.*

In truth this saying of Jesus affords no basis for chronological calculations. It was a common proverb, conveying the practical lesson that results mature slowly and it were foolish to expect an immediate reward of one's labour. Jesus was prepared to sow the good seed and have long patience until the harvest should ripen; and what filled His heart with surprise and joy was the spectacle of His seed ripening in an hour. He saw the woman returning in haste from the town accompanied by an eager throng (vv. 28-31), and He broke out, "Ye have a saying,¹ 'It is yet four months and the harvest cometh.' Lo, I say unto you, lift up your eyes and behold the fields that they are white for harvest!" It was but now that He had scattered His seed, and, behold, it was already ripe for the sickle.

2. "*A prophet hath no honour in his own country and among his own kinsfolk and in his own house.*" Two occasions are recorded on which Jesus quoted this proverb (John iv. 44; Matt. xiii. 57 = Mark vi. 4 = Luke iv. 24), and it was exemplified all through His ministry. The people of Nazareth resented His words because He had been brought up among them and worked as a carpenter in their town; His relations thought Him mad; and His brethren did not believe in Him. It was a common proverb, and it originated in the treatment which the Jews all down the course of their history had accorded to their prophets.²

The proverb has a Jewish dress, but it has a universal application. It is the self-same idea that the witty Frenchman expressed when he said that "no man is a hero to his valet-de-chambre." And there is an ancient proverb

¹ λέγετε, Cf. λόγος (v. 37).

² Orig. In Joan. xiii. § 54: πατρὶς δὲ τῶν προφητῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἦν, καὶ φανερόν ἐστι τιμὴν αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις μὴ ἐσχηκέναι, λιθασθέντας, πρισθέντας, πειρασθέντας, ἐν φόβῳ μαχαίρας ἀποθανόντας, διὰ τὸ ἀτιμάζεσθαι περιελθόντας ἐν μηλιταῖς, ἐν αἰγείοις δέρμασιν, ὑστερουμένους, θλιβομένους, κακοχουμένους.

still in vogue that "familiarity breeds contempt."¹ Pericles, that brilliant statesman of ancient Athens, would never dine abroad lest he should be cheapened in the estimation of the company by the familiarity of social intercourse.²

3. The "Sermon on the Mount" abounds in proverbial snatches. "*A single iota or a single tip*" (Matt. v. 18) was like our phrase "the stroke of a *t* or the dot of an *i*." In the Talmud the Book of Deuteronomy is represented as complaining to the Lord against Solomon for his violation of xvii. 17: "Testamentum vacillans in aliqua parte vacillat in toto" (cf. James ii. 10). "Salomo," the Lord answers, "et mille similes illi peribunt, at vacula de te non peribit; apicula una de litera jod non peribit." "*Thou canst not,*" says Jesus, "*make a single hair white or black*" (v. 36); and the Talmud has: "unam pennam corvi dealbare non possunt." "*When thou doest alms,*" says Jesus, "*sound not a trumpet before thee, as the play-actors do*" (vi. 2); and a similar figure is found in the classics. Achilles Tatius has (viii. 10): οὐχ ὑπὸ σάλπινγγι μόνον ἀλλ' ἐπὶ κήρυκι μοιχεύεται. Cf. *buccinator, buccinari* (e.g. Cic. *De Div.* xvi. 21). "I have," says old Thomas Fuller, "observed some at the church-door cast in sixpence with such ostentation, that it rebounded from the bottom and rung against both sides of the bason (so that the same piece of silver was the alms and the giver's trumpet); whilst others have dropped down silent five shillings without any noise."

"*Why lookest thou at the chip in thy brother's eye, but the log that is in thine own eye considerest not?*" (vii. 3) is the question wherewith Jesus enforces His prohibition of

¹ Chrysost. In *Joan.* xxxiv. (Ed. Duc. p. 219A): ἡ γὰρ συνηθεια εὐκαταφρονήτους ποιεῖν εἰώθεν. St. Bern. *Flores*, p. 2123: "Vulgare proverbium est, quod nimia familiaritas parit contemptum."

² Plut. *Pericl.* vii.: δεινὰ γὰρ αἱ φιλοφροσύναι παντὸς ὄγκου περιγεῖσθαι καὶ δυσφύλακτον ἐν συνηθείᾳ τὸ πρὸς δόξαν σεμνὸν εἶναι. Cf. *De Imit. Chr.* I. x. § 1: "Vellem me pluries tacuisse et inter homines non fuisse."

ensorious judgment. This also was a common proverb characteristically oriental in its grotesque exaggeration. It has been suggested that ὀφθαλμός corresponds here to *W* in the sense of a *well*: "a chip in your neighbour's well, a log in your own."¹ But Lightfoot quotes the proverb thus: "Quin si dicat quis alteri: *Ejice festucam ex oculo tuo*, responsurus est ille: *Ejice trabem ex oculo tuo*." It was a carpenter's proverb, and it is no unwarrantable fancy to recognize in it a special fitness on the lips of Him who had earned His daily bread in a carpenter's shop.² It was a Jewish proverb, but the habit it satirizes is a general and abiding fault of human nature. "Many," remarks St. Chrysostom, "now do this. If they see a monk wearing a superfluous garment, they cast up to him the Lord's law, though themselves practising boundless extortion and covetousness every day. If they see him enjoying a somewhat plenteous meal, they fall to bitter accusing, though themselves indulging daily in drunkenness and excess." Very similar is "*Physician heal thyself*" (Luke iv. 23). The Talmud has: "Medice, cura propriam claudicationem." Plutarch quotes a line from some poet: ἄλλων ἰατρὸς αὐτὸς ἔλκεσι βρύων. And Cicero (Ep. iv. 5) has: "Male medici qui ipsi se curare non possunt."

"Give not what is holy to the dogs, neither cast your pearls before the swine" (vii. 6). This also, it would seem, was a Jewish proverb: cf. 2 Peter ii. 22 (Prov. xxvi. 11). "What man is there of you," asks Jesus, "who, if his son ask of him a fish, will give him a serpent?" (vii. 10); and the Greeks had a proverb "Instead of a perch a scorpion."³ "*Build on the sand*" was a Greek proverb expressive of vain and unenduring work;⁴ and Jesus' memorable par-

¹ See Bruce in *Expos. Gk. Test.*

² Just. M. *Dial. c. Tryph.*, p. 316c (mihi): ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ τεκτονικὰ ἔργα ἐργάζετο ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὢν, ἄροτρα καὶ ξυγά.

³ ἀπὲρ πέρκης σκορπίον: "ubi quis optima captans pessima capit" (Erasmus).

⁴ ἐς ψάμμον οἰκοδομεῖς. Cf. ἐς ψάμμον σπείρεις.

able of the Two Builders is but an expansion of it. He must surely have had the proverb in His thoughts (Matt. vii. 24-27 = Luke vi. 47-49).

4. One of the most perplexing passages in the Gospel narrative is the Lord's reply to the disciple who promised to follow Him but asked permission first to go away and bury his father. "Leave the dead to bury their own dead," Jesus answered, "but go thou away and publish far and wide the Kingdom of God."

At the first blush one is startled, almost shocked, by the seeming brutality of our Lord's language. Was it not right that the man should go and lay his dead father in his grave? Even the study of the Law, that most sacred and urgent duty, must, according to the Rabbis, yield to the performance of funeral rites.¹ Is it possible that the gentle Jesus, who wept by the grave of Lazarus and had ever such tender compassion for human sorrow, should thus have trampled upon the sacred instinct of filial piety? It wants, however, only a little reflection to justify Jesus and discover the disciple's real disposition. There is force in St. Chrysostom's observation that the work of burial was not all. "It had been further necessary to busy himself about the will, the division of the inheritance, and all the rest that follows thereupon; and thus wave after wave would have caught him and carried him very far from the haven of truth. Therefore He draws him and nails him to Himself."² Though his father were lying dead, it were no marvel that Jesus should have detained the disciple lest he should be lost to the Kingdom of Heaven. But his father cannot have been lying dead, else the disciple would not have been abroad. It is necessary in the sultry East that the dead should be immediately

¹ "In deducendo funere cessat studium Legis."

² In *Matth.* xxxviii., p. 338a. Contact with a dead body made one unclean for seven days (Num. xix. 11 sqq.).

interred (Acts v. 6), and, had his father been dead or dying, the disciple would have stood convicted of heartlessness. He should have been at home attending to the funeral rites or closing the dying eyes; and it would have been utter shamelessness had he excused himself from following Jesus on the score of a duty which he was all the while palpably neglecting. The truth is that his excuse was a mere pretext for delay. He asked a truce, says Cyril of Alexandria, that he might tend his father in his declining years, promising that, when the old man was in his grave, he would devote himself to the Kingdom of Heaven. It would seem that when he said, "Allow me first to go away and bury my father," he was employing a flippant phrase which is a proverb in the East to this day. A missionary in Syria tells how he once advised a young Turkish gentleman to complete his education by travelling in Europe. "I must first bury my father," was the reply. The missionary was surprised. Quite recently he had seen the old gentleman in good health; and he expressed his sorrow at the sad intelligence of his death. The youth, however, explained that his father was not dead. All he meant was that his first duty was to attend to his relations.¹

If such were the meaning of the disciple's words it is no wonder that Jesus answered so sternly: "Leave the dead to bury their own dead, but go thou and publish far and wide the Kingdom of God." The word "dead" is used here in two senses—the literal sense and the spiritual.² The burial of the dead is a task for such as are dead in sin. The heirs of Eternal Life should have other thoughts and other employments. It may be that

¹ Wendt, *Lehr. Jes.*, II. 70, n. 1 E. T.

² Ambrose: "Quomodo autem mortui sepelire mortuos possunt nisi geminam hic intelligas mortem, unam naturae, alteram culpae? Est etiam mors tertia in qua peccato morimur, Deo vivimus."

the father was an unbeliever,¹ but this would hardly be in the mind of Jesus. He meant that the disciple's thoughts should be of life and not of death. There were others who would lay the old man in his grave, and he was needed for higher work. The Kingdom of Heaven was the supreme concern, and Jesus claimed that it should rank first in His disciples' thoughts and affections. Like a physician in time of plague He would have His staff tend the living and leave to other hands the task of carrying the dead to their graves.²

Jesus had good reason to feel aggrieved. The Rabbis demanded and received from their disciples an absolute and paramount veneration. "Respect for a teacher," they said, "should exceed respect for a father, for both father and son owe respect to a teacher." "If a man's father and his teacher have lost anything, the teacher's loss has the precedence. If his father and his teacher are carrying burdens, he must help his teacher first and his father afterwards. If his father and his teacher are in captivity, he must ransom his teacher first and his father afterwards."³ Jesus had good reason to feel aggrieved at that disciple who accorded Him less reverence than the Rabbis received of their disciples.

"No one who, after putting his hand on a plough, looketh backward, is well set (εὐθετος) for the Kingdom of God" is the Lord's reply to that other aspirant to apostleship who volunteered to follow Him but wished first of all to go and bid his relatives farewell (Luke ix. 62). It is a familiar image and one that would naturally suggest itself to the

¹ Chrysost. In Matth. xxviii. 337b: εἰπὼν δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκροὺς δείκνυσιν ὅτι οὗτος οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ νεκρός. καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀπίστων, ὡς ἐγωγε οἶμαι, ἦν ὁ τετελευτηκώς.

² Ibid. p. 338c: καὶ γὰρ πόλλῳ βέλτιον βασιλείαν ἀνακηρύττειν καὶ ἐτέρους ἀνασπῆν ἀπὸ θανάτου ἢ τὸν οὐδὲν ὠφελούμενον νεκρὸν θάπτειν, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτ' αὐτῶν οἱ πληρώσαντες ἅπαντα.

³ Cf. Schürer, Jew. Peop., II. i. p. 317.

mind of Jesus and be very intelligible to His hearers; but it is an interesting coincidence that the Romans had a proverb: "A ploughman, unless he bend to his task, draws a crooked furrow."¹ Pliny quotes it, and says it was transferred to the law court. "Conveniet," says Erasmus, "in negocium quod absque magnis sudoribus peragi non potest."

5. "It is easier for a camel to go through the needle's eye than for a rich man to go into the Kingdom of God" (Mark x. 25 = Matt. xix. 24 = Luke xviii. 25). This proverb occurs in the Koran (chapter vii.): "Verily they who shall charge our signs with falsehood and shall proudly reject them, the gates of Heaven shall not be opened unto them, neither shall they enter into Paradise, until a camel pass through the eye of a needle." It may be that Mohammed quoted it from the Gospels, but it is more likely that it was a common proverb all over the East and he used it independently. Attempts have been made to tone down the absurdity of the figure. *Κάμηλος* has been taken in the sense of *Κάμιλος*, a cable,² and the "needle's eye" has been supposed to mean a postern-gate. Such explanations, however, are alike impossible and unnecessary. The monstrous exaggeration of the proverb is thoroughly oriental, and is matched by such Rabbinical proverbs as these, all denoting impossibilities: "A camel dancing in a quart-measure" (*Camelus saltat in cabo*); "An elephant going through a needle's eye" (*non ostendunt elephantem incedentem per foramen acus*); "Putting an elephant through a needle's eye" (*introducere elephantem per foramen acus*).³

Akin to this is another proverb which Jesus quotes in His philippic against the Scribes and Pharisees (Matt. xxiii. 24):

¹ Plin. *H.N.* xviii. § 49: "Arator nisi incurvus prævaricatur." Cp. Verg. *Ecl.* iii. 42: "curvus arator."

² Suidas; *κάμιλος* δὲ τὸ παχὺ σχοινίον.

³ Cf. Shak. *K. Rich.* II., V. v.:

"It is as hard to come as for a camel
To thread the postern of a needle's eye."

"Blind guides, ye that strain out the gnat and gulp down the camel!" Erasmus¹ quotes a Latin adage: "Transmisso camelo culex in cribro deprehensus haesit," and refers to the bantering remark of Anacharsis the Scythian when he found Solon busy drawing up his laws and rallied him for thinking they be of any use. "They are exactly like spiders' webs; they will hold back the weak and insignificant and be broken through by the powerful and rich."² The proverb satirizes those who atone for laxity in important matters by scrupulosity in matters of no moment. One of the most amusing and least coarse of Ulrich von Hutten's *Letters of Obscure Men*³ describes the perturbation of a licentious German monk who, one Friday, while on a visit to Rome, rashly devoured an egg nigh to hatching, and then bethought himself that he had committed a mortal sin by eating flesh on a fast-day. It was represented to him by a boon-companion that the chick was accounted no more than an egg until it was hatched; and he argued with himself that there are often worms in cheeses, and in cherries, and in fresh peas and beans, and yet these are eaten without sin on fast-days. Nevertheless his conscience was ill at ease, and he wrote to his superior at Rome, Magister Ortvinus Gratius, and submitted this profound *questio theologiae* to his decision.

His use of these familiar proverbs reveals our Lord's kindly humanity, His sympathy with His hearers, and His desire to gain for His teaching access to their hearts. Some of them are of a humorous turn, yet one shrinks from the idea that they show a vein of humour in Jesus. There is something singularly offensive in the mere suggestion, and a believing mind instinctively revolts from it. And the instinct is just. The inquiry whether Jesus had the sense of humour is not simply trivial and irreverent: it betrays a

¹ *Adag. sub. Absurda.*

² *Plat. Sol. v. § 2.*

³ *Vol. ii. Ep. 26 (Böcking's Edition), i. pp. 226-7.*

fundamental misconception of that holy Life of redeeming love. The burden of His mission was heavy upon Jesus all His days on earth. At the age of twelve years He spoke that word of deep and wondrous significance, "Wist ye not that I must be about My Father's business?" To speak of the Crucifixion as an unforeseen tragedy is worse than an idle fancy: it is a radical misunderstanding. "It was necessary that the Christ should suffer these things and enter into His glory" (Luke xxiv. 26). This was no late discovery, no reluctant conviction forced upon Him by the stern logic of events.¹ Jesus came into the world on purpose to die. It was foreordained before the foundation of the world that the Lamb of God should be slain (1 Pet. i. 19-20; Rev. xiii. 8), and He was manifested in the fulness of the time that He might give His life a ransom for many and put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself. All the days of His flesh the load of a world's guilt was upon Him and the shadow of the Cross lay dark and grim upon His path. There is profound truth in the tradition that Jesus was never seen to laugh, but oftentimes to weep.² His face was the kindest that this world has ever seen. It was always gracious and benign, yet always grave and wistful. He brought peace wherever He came, but He never awakened mirth. His thoughts were ever high and awful, and their savour was in His speech.

The fact that several of the proverbs which our Lord quotes have heathen parallels raises an interesting question. Whence the affinity? It is simply impossible that it should be due to acquaintance with heathen literature. It is true indeed that Herod the Great had a taste for Greek literature and art, and surrounded himself with Greek scholars like Nicolas of Damascus and his brother Ptolemy, Andro-

¹ Keim *Jes. von Naz.* iv. 38 E.T.: "It was the death of the Baptist which, weighing upon the mind of Jesus, first matured in him the presentiment of his own near departure."

² Ep. of P. Lentulus, Procons. of Judæa, to the Roman Senate.

machus, Gemellus, the tutor of prince Alexander, Irenæus, and the Lacedæmonian Eurykles. But these Hellenizing tendencies were confined to the court and its retainers, and, though there were Pharisees of more liberal proclivities who, like Hillel and his follower Gamaliel, the teacher of Saul of Tarsus, favoured the study of the *Chokmath Javanith*, they were never more than a small and unpopular minority. The prevailing sentiment was that of the R. Akhiba who asserted that no Israelite who studied the books of the Greeks need hope for eternal life. It is absolutely certain that Jesus was a stranger to Greek literature. Celsus charged Him with borrowing from Plato His saying about the difficulty of a rich man entering into the Kingdom of Heaven, and spoiling it in the process; and Origen's reply is most just: "Who that is even moderately able to handle the subject, would not laugh at Celsus, whether a believer in Jesus or one of the rest of mankind, hearing that Jesus, who had been born and bred among Jews, and was supposed to be the son of Joseph the carpenter, and had studied no literature, neither Greek nor even Hebrew, according to the testimony of the veracious Scriptures that tell His story, read Plato?"¹

It is possible that in some cases the resemblance may be merely accidental, but in others it must be due to some sort of intercourse; and indeed, despite their exclusiveness, the Jews were not wholly impervious to influences from without. They borrowed Greek and Latin words, and even the Talmud bristles with these uncouth importations.² Nor is this surprising. For one thing, the Jews carried on a very considerable commerce. They had several industries of world-wide fame. The Lake of Galilee abounded in fish, and these were pickled and exported far and wide. The

¹ C. Cels. vi. 16. The Platonic passage in question is Legg. v. 743: ἀγαθὸν δὲ ὅντα διαφερόντως καὶ πλοῦσιον εἶναι διαφερόντως ἀδύνατον.

² E.g. סמפוניא = συμφωνία, קוביא = κύβητα, קלמוס = κάλαμος, סנפול = μωσώλη, לבלר = librarius, סגום = sagum, דלמטיקיון = dalmatica, סודרין = sudarium, ספסל = subsellium, וילין = velum, ספקלריא = specularia.

town which was the seat of this industry had a Greek name, *Taricheæ*,¹ i.e. "The Pickleries." Galilee was celebrated for its linen manufacture, and the wilderness of Judæa pastured flocks of sheep which furnished material for a thriving trade in woollen goods. Jerusalem had a sheep-market and a wool-market.² Palestine had also an extensive import-trade. The Talmud mentions Babylonian sauce, Median beer, Persian nuts, Indian cotton, Edomite vinegar, Egyptian fish, mustard, beans, and lentils, Cilician groats, Bithynian cheese, Greek pumpkins, Greek and Roman hyssop, and Spanish tunnies. Of course the merchants would bring their phrases with them, and it were no wonder though some of their catch-words became current among the Jews.

Nor were the merchants the only strangers who visited Palestine. There were Roman soldiers and Herod's mercenaries, among the latter Thracians, Germans, and Galatians.³ Herod built a magnificent theatre at Jerusalem, and an equally magnificent amphitheatre, and instituted athletic contests every four years after the pattern of the Greek Games. From the whole world (ἀπὸ πάσης γῆς) came competitors and spectators.⁴ Still more numerous, however, was the concourse of worshippers who year by year frequented the Holy City to celebrate the feasts in the Temple. They were Israelites devout and patriotic, but they had settled in foreign lands and had learned the languages and acquired the manners of the strangers among whom they dwelt and traded. These 'Ἑλληνισταί' exercised a two-fold influence. They carried Jewish ideas abroad, and to them chiefly would be due that universal dissemination of the Messianic Hope which in the providence of God prepared the way for the Redeemer of the world.⁵ They

¹ τάρικος· ἐστὶ δὲ κρέας ἀλλοῖ πεπασμένον (Suidas).

² Bab. Kam. x. 9.

³ Joseph. Ant. xvii. 8, § 3.

⁴ Ibid. xv. 8, § 1.

⁵ Suet. *Vespas.* 4: "Percrebuerat oriente toto vetuset constans opinio esse in fatis ut eo tempore Judæa profecti rerum potirentur. Id de imperatore Romano, quantum postea eventu patuit, praedictum Judæi ad se trahentes rebellarunt."

performed also this still greater service, that they did something toward breaking down the barrier betwixt Jew and Gentile and making the Christian ideal of the brotherhood of believers more easy of acceptance.

DAVID SMITH.

THE SEMITIC SACRIFICE OF RECONCILIATION.

IN a call which I made on Dr. Fred Bliss, of Beirut, who was for ten years the archæologist of the Palestine Exploration Fund, he spoke of the custom of making a feast in connexion with a reconciliation effected between two persons who had been at enmity and compared the sacrifice made on that occasion to a peace-offering.¹

At last it seemed as if there might be some trace of that which has been known to the critics as the "sacrificial meal." It was with this thought that I entered upon a new investigation. Dr. Bliss had spoken of the custom as prevalent in Syria. At an early day I began to question the natives as to its existence. The first interview which I had was with Ḥayil, of Ḳaryatên, a member of the old Syriac Church, who had mingled for long periods at a time with different tribes of the Arabs during more than twenty years.

He gave the following illustration of a reconciliation from his own experience. Enmity had developed between him and a Ṣulêb Arab, to such an extent that the Ṣulêbi threatened if he found him alone in the wilderness the result would be serious, and Ḥayil assured the Ṣulêbi that if he met him single-handed in Ḳaryatên he would show him no mercy. Finally mutual friends intervened and brought about a reconciliation. Ḥayil went to the wilderness to the tent of his Ṣulêb enemy. A sacrifice was killed and prepared as a feast, of which Ḥayil, the Ṣulêbi

¹ *Journal*, xiv., Spring of 1902, Beirut.

and the mediators partook. The ones who had been at enmity kissed each other's beards, and peace was established.

It at once seemed to me as if in this incident there was an illustration of the reconciliation between Jacob and Laban, after Jacob had fled from his father-in-law and they had a "sacrificial meal" on the heap of stones at Galeed before they parted, that the enmity which had existed between them might be removed.¹ In all this the emphasis seemed to be laid in J on a "sacrificial meal,"² in which the idea of fellowship was predominant.

But very suddenly and unexpectedly, on visiting two of the three Syriac villages, Bakh'a and Ma'lûla, where Syriac is still the vernacular, a very different idea was emphasized.

At the house of Sheik 'Abd er-Rahîm, of Bakh'a, we were enjoying our midday meal. All the people of the village are Moslems, except the servant of the Mezâr, Abu Shiban, who is a Christian, but who, strangely enough, lives six hours distant at Dêr 'Aṭiyeh. We talked of many things until I finally asked him if he knew of sacrifices of reconciliation. He replied that he did, and gave

¹ Genesis xxxi. 45, 46. Kautzsch, *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, Leipzig, 1896, assigns this passage to J, and translates it: "Hierauf nahm er JAKOB einen Stein und richtete ihn auf als Malstein. Da sprach Jakob zu seinen Stammgenossen: Lest Steine auf! Da 'lasen' sie Steine auf und errichteten einen Steinhaufen; dann hielten sie dort auf dem Steinhaufen das [Opfer] Mahl." Whether this should be called a "sacrificial meal" must depend on the usage of the primitive Semites.

² It is an interesting question whether E, ver. 54, indicates anything different from J. If sacrifice consisted among the primitive Semites simply in slaughtering, as is universally the case among the Semites at the present day, the meal which follows being incidental, both writers could express the same idea. Indeed they must express the same idea if modern Semitic usage in sacrifice is a survival of primitive usage.

I cannot discuss the combination of the *mazzēbah*, which the primitive Semite must have regarded as a representation of Deity (cf. Gen. xxviii. 18-22), and a heap of stones, now used among the Semites as a place of sacrifice, as a rude altar. It is doubtful whether, when the narrator said, "God is witness betwixt me and thee" (ver. 50b) and "This heap be witness and the pillar [Malstein] be witness" (ver. 52a), he intended to convey an idea essentially different. This seems unlikely when we remember that to-day the notion of Deity is connected with sacred stones.

the following account: "When there is a disagreement between two men, if one has killed the relative of another, the avenger of blood takes a razor and passes it over the neck of the murderer in token of reconciliation. They have a feast afterwards. They kill an animal and repeat the first Sura of the Koran (*fātiḥa*) over it. They have a sacrifice to the face of God for the peace. Because they come and eat the sacrifice together they become brothers. It is a *fedou* for the blood, because it is slain for the shed blood (that is, for the murdered). This blood (that is, of the animal) is shed for the other (that of the murdered man); *ed-dem bedl¹ dem*, "blood instead of blood"; *fejr² ed-dem ghaṭṭa³ dak ed-dem*, "the bursting forth of the blood covered that blood."

Here indeed they became brothers by eating the sacrifice together. But in the clearest terms the idea is expressed that the blood of the victim is shed for that of the murdered man, and that without the shedding of this blood there can be no reconciliation. Singularly enough this custom was related by a Moslem as current among the people of his faith, though such a representation of substitute blood is repugnant to Moslem theology, and hence the transmission of this account through a Moslem is an infallible indication that it is the survival of an ancient Semitic custom.

At the village of Ma'lûla, in an interview with the wife of the Sheik, at whose house we spent the night, we had another illustration of the same idea, both from her and from others. She is a member of the Greek Church.

¹ Cf. Lane, an Arabic-English Lexicon, under *bedalûn*, "a substitute; a thing given, or received, or put or done, instead of, in place of, in lieu of, in exchange for, another thing; a compensation. . . . Verily thy substitute is Zeyd. . . . With me is a man who stands in his stead, and is in his place."

This word refers to the "bursting forth of blood," because of the ritualistic opening of jugular vein.

² In classical Arabic *ghaṭṭahu fil-mâ'* signifies "he immersed, immersed, dipped, plunged, or suuk him, or it in the water." Lane, *op. cit. sub voce*.

Her home, until her marriage a few years ago, was in Dêr 'Aṭīyeh, where she had frequently heard Moslems speak of the custom of reconciliation between the murderer and the avenger of the murdered which I give in her own words: "If the avenger of blood is willing to pardon the murderer, the latter brings a sheep and the avenger of blood kills it. The avenger knows he has rights through this blood because blood has been shed. The sacrifice is "blood instead of blood," *dem bedl dem*. The friends of the murderer come to the father of the murdered man, and ask him whether he will heartily pardon the murderer, and if he says "Yes," they reply, "Then take this sheep as if it were instead of the murderer." He then takes it and slays it as if it were blood instead of blood. After that they have a feast. An old man added, "the avenger of blood uses a razor, drawing it across the throat of the murderer, to show that he could cut his throat if he liked and that he pardons him." After they have had the feast they kiss each other. In recent times the Christians have dropped the sacrifice altogether and use simply the razor.¹

At Šednâya, on the way from Ma'lûla to Damascus, we spent the night at the house of a Greek Christian. Mr. Jabbûr, my companion and interpreter, asked him about the sacrifice of reconciliation. He spoke of it as "a lamb instead of the murderer,"² *charîf mukâbil qatîl*.

A more elaborate account of the reconciliation between the murderer and the avenger of blood was given by "Diab 'Alwad of Kafr Harib above the Sea of Galilee": When peace is secured by the family of the murdered man through the promise of the avenger of blood and the promise of the honourable people of the Arabs, the family of the murderer bring one or more sheep to the house or tent of the avenger

¹ *Journal*, xv., Summer 1902.

² Perhaps the sentence should be translated, "A lamb stands opposite to (that is, represents) the murderer." Cf. Steingass, *The Student's Arabic-English Dictionary*, London, 1831, under *qabil*.—III.

of blood. The murderer is not with them. He is outside. As it is always customary among the Arabs to drink coffee before a feast, the avenger of blood makes coffee. The sheep stands outside. When they are about to hand around the coffee for the people to drink one or two of the honourable men ask the "owner of the blood," the father or brother of the murdered man, for permission to bring the murderer before him. When this is granted they drink the coffee. The murderer is then presented to the avenger of blood kneeling. The avenger takes a razor and shaves a little of the hair of his head. No sooner is this done than one of the women who is present utters a cry of joy (*zaghârit*). The family of the "owner of the blood" kill the sheep which was brought by the family of the murderer; then the woman makes the *zaghârit* again. This is a sign of joy that the blood has been covered literally, "blood went away from his neck" (*raḥ ed-dem min raḥbatu*)¹ not to be required any more. Immediately a man goes up to the roof of the house carrying a white flag, sometimes attached to a long spear, and makes proclamation:

er-râyat el-mabniyah
min esh-shâm la-hadiyah,
liḍ-ḍuyûf wa-lil-mahalliyah
hadi er-râyat fulân,
*bîyaḍ allâh thanâh.*²

The banner that is raised
 From Damascus to Hadiyah
 For guests and for residents,
 This is the banner of so and so,
 May God whiten his reputation.

When the crier mentions his name the woman makes the *zaghârit* again. As soon as the sacrifice is killed the enmity ceases between the murderer and the avenger of blood. The significance of killing the sacrifice is the "plucking out of enmity" and the establishment of peace between the two persons. The common people say "So and so attained the

¹ Cf. Lane, *op. cit.* *raḥabatûn* . . . "By a synecdoche, it is applied to the whole person of a human being: as in the saying *danbuhu fî raḥabatihî*, his sin, or his crime, etc., be on his own neck; meaning, on himself . . . and *a'taḥa allâh raḥabatahu*, "may God emancipate him."

² For *thandhu*.

peace, he killed his sacrifice," which is an Oriental way of saying, "He attained the peace by killing his sacrifice," *fulân aṣlah dabāḥ dabāḥihū*.

They show great pleasure in the forgiveness. They have dancing. The men make a ring and a woman dances in the midst of it with a sword in her hand. There is horse-racing and singing from village to village."¹

While the idea of vicarious blood is not emphasized in this account it is not absent, for the person of the murderer is not cleared from blood until the sacrifice has been killed, and the attainment of peace is conditioned on the sacrifice. In the words of a Moslem at 'Ain Jenneh, "the lamb makes the peace and removes the enmity," *el-charūf yaj'al es-sulḥ wa-yarfa' el-'adāwat*; clearly this means the same thing as the expression used by the Syriac Moslem, *dem bedl dem*.²

It is true that in other parts of the country different ideas are emphasized in the account given of the reconciliation, so that in the explanation of the ceremonies observed the thought of the vicarious sacrifice has been lost, though so far as I can learn "the bursting forth of blood" is never omitted.

A Ruala Arab said: "There is an animal killed for the peace between them both. They simply have the feast."³

The Sheik of Burme, in 'Ajlūn, a Moslem described three ways by which the avenger of blood might become reconciled. These may all be considered preliminary to the special ceremonies already detailed, for in every case sacrifices are provided by the family of the murderer: (1) He accepts payment, for which a trustworthy man becomes surety; (2) he shaves a little of the hair of the murderer, and says, "I leave you free to the face of God," that is, "I do not exact blood, or money; God may, if He chooses, exact blood, He is the avenger; (3) he does not demand the

¹ *Journal*, xvi., Kafr Harib, Summer of 1902.

Ibid. 'Ain Jenneh.

² *Ibid.* Encampment of Ruala.

blood and therefore feels free to strip the murderer of all his property.¹

Bernaba, a Greek Christian of Kerak, indicated still another mode of reconciliation, though sacrifice is observed as an essential part: "Among the Moslems the murderer gives one or two of his daughters to the avenger of blood, so that he may bring about love between the two families. Sometimes the murderer gives one girl and one man. There are also two men who furnish bail, one that the avenger will not take vengeance on the murderer, and the other who arranges the payment.² After all the preliminaries are adjusted the murderer brings sacrifices. They eat them together to celebrate the peace. Then they display the white flag at the top of the tent. After the feast the marriage takes place at such time as is most agreeable to the parties concerned.

On the way to Tafileh we fell in with a Bedawin cut-throat³ who gave much the same version as the others: "They have sacrifices of reconciliation. The murderer brings the sacrifices for the peace. The avenger shaves off some of his beard.⁴ In token of reconciliation they kiss each other on the head and on the beard. If the avenger does not demand any payment of the murderer he will shave his forehead and set him free. They then raise a white banner and the women make the *zaghârîf*."⁵

¹ *Ibid.*, Burme.

² A truce is frequently arranged so that the murderer may have time to collect the amount laid on him by the avenger of blood. The regular payment required is 33,300 piasters, but the owner of the blood says, "For the sake of so and so I will cut the total sum down to so many thousand piasters." Payment is made in animals as well as money, which the murderer may beg during the truce from friends or strangers. Sometimes the avenger remits the payment altogether.

³ We travelled with him several hours. He opened his whole heart to us and bewailed the departure of the good old times, before the Turkish Government laid its hand on the Bedawin, when the Arabs of Tafleleh could cut the throats of those of Shôbek as easily as sheep, "yes more easily."

⁴ "He shaves his cheek and sends him free," *yuzayyin ghâribhu wa-ya tiḡhu*. *Journal*, xvi. On the way to Petra, summer of 1902.

An aged Arab whom we interviewed at a well, about three hours from Shòbek, on the way from Tafileh, emphasized the sacrifice. "If they do not kill a sacrifice nothing is done. If they kill a sacrifice they say, 'We went to him, and killed a sacrifice and secured the peace, and he has no right to ask anything further from us.' When they kill the sacrifice everything is completed. The murderer comes and kisses the beard of the avenger of blood and asks his forgiveness. He replies, 'I have surrendered my rights to you.'"

The final testimony was from the Sheik of the Habàhbi, near Shòbek: "If they kill the sacrifice there will be peace. In arranging for payment they give some of their girls or some of their flocks. The blood of the sacrifice does not suffice without payment. They put up a white banner and say, 'It is for the one who made the peace.'"

We cannot doubt that in the sacrifice of reconciliation we have a primitive Semitic institution. It exists from one end of Syria to the other, from Karyatèn to Petra, among Syrians and Bedawins, and possesses the same essential elements. Doubtless some emphasize the feast more than they do the slaughtering of the animal, the fellowship in eating together more than the substitute blood; but when we review all the facts there seems no reason for doubting that the original element of the sacrifice is explained by the expressions: *dem bedl dem*, *fejr ed-dem ghaṭṭa dak ed-dem*, *charûf mukâbil katil*, *fulan aṣlah dabah dabâḥḥu*, etc., not in the feasting is the reconciliation, it is in the blood which has been shed.

This primitive institution puts the phraseology of the Apostle Paul in Ephesians ii. 13-17 in an interesting light, since, in the expressions used, he seems to betray familiarity with the sacrifice of peace. It is, of course, not necessary to insist on a parallelism in all details.

The blood of Christ may be described as *dem bedl dem*,

that is according to Semitic ideas the vicarious blood, without which no sacrifice of reconciliation could be complete. In the words of an Arab at Wādī Wa'leh, *bela fej*¹ *dem la yatimm en-nidr*, "without the bursting forth of blood the vow will not be fulfilled." A similar idea is expressed by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (ix. 22b): "Apart from shedding of blood there is no remission." In this case the blood of Christ is shed for Jew and Gentile as a substitute for the blood due from them. Thus Christ through His death becomes "peace," the very term we have already had, "the lamb makes the peace and removes the enmity." Through Him God "whitens the reputation" of Jew and Gentile, through His blood. Through the Cross "the enmity is removed" which existed between Jew and Gentile. Like the crier on the housetop, who makes proclamation regarding the murderer, he proclaims peace, though not to "guests and residents," but to those who had been at variance.

These parallels in thought and expression can hardly be accidental, but seem rather to be an adaptation to the customs connected with reconciliation which must have been well known to the Apostle Paul.

SAMUEL IVES CURTISS.

DIALOGUES ON THE CHRISTIAN PROPHETS.

VI.

Tradition in St. Paul—Rules of the Prophets—The Montanists—A "Charismatic" Ministry—How Prophetic Literature was lost.

Mason. I have been pondering what you said, Riddell, when we met last, about the rules of procedure given by St. Paul to the Corinthian Church (1 Cor. xiv. 29). They seem to me to be important, but they are "overlooked and disregarded," as Bishop Butler would say, by "the generality of the world."

¹ This is a Bedawin form for *fej*r, Kurdish *fejran*.

Riddell. Yes. A question arises here, Mason, and it is this: Can we say whether they were originated by St. Paul or were already in existence before his time? I am inclined to think they were not coined by him. He is in the habit of saying that he "received" things "by tradition." "I deliver to you by tradition that which I received by tradition, that Messiah died for our sins according to the scriptures" (1 Cor. xv. 3). He actually praises the Corinthians for being generally inclined to hold fast traditions. "Now I praise you because ye remember me in all things, and hold fast the traditions, even as I delivered them to you" (1 Cor. xi. 2). After which praise he proceeds to give further details of reasoning, "But I would have you know." . . . A third reference to tradition occurs in his mention of the Eucharist (1 Cor. xi. 23), "Shall I praise you? In this I praise you not, for I received by tradition, starting from the Lord, that which I delivered to you, that the Lord Jesus on the night of his betrayal." . . . Now if there was a body of tradition which he received about the death, burial and resurrection of Christ, much more likely is it that there was a body of tradition referring to the Prophets, who existed as a class anterior to those events—a body of rules dealing with their procedure, which the Corinthians were imperfectly acquainted with, but which it behoved them to know and to observe. "If any man claimeth to be a prophet, or (otherwise) spiritual, let him further know that the things I write unto you are the commandment of the Lord" (1 Cor. xiv. 38). And who was more fit to give commandment as to the procedure of the Prophets than he who was a Prophet himself? You do not suppose, do you, that St. Paul was a revolutionary person?

M. I rather think that was my opinion, He had much to alter in founding new Churches.

R. Morally, yes, especially at Corinth; but in doctrine and observance he was most careful to maintain the

existing lines. However, there are the rules, and they are simple enough. The most important are :

- (1) That no Prophet is to speak while another Prophet is in a state of ecstasy, receiving his revelation or apocalypse (1 Cor. xiv. 30).
- (2) Prophecies are subject to the discerning criticism of Prophets present in the Church (1 Cor. xiv. 29).
- (3) Prophets are to speak one at a time, not more than three speaking in one congregation (1 Cor. xiv. 31, and compare 29 and 27).

St. Paul does not say definitely that

- (4) No Prophet shall speak while he is in ecstasy himself.

But his meaning appears to be that a solemn silence is enjoined upon the whole congregation while one of the Prophets sits rapt in intense abstraction. He seems to assume the existence of this Rule 4.

M. Why do you lay stress upon this last point ?

R. Because you will find when you read the history of the second century that an interesting fact is connected with it. Some time before the year 155 A.D. the orthodox Miltiades wrote a treatise on the subject "That a Prophet may not speak in ecstasy." The work is not preserved to us entire, but Eusebius has recorded its title and some extracts from it quoted by the writer against the Montanists, whom we are quite justified in identifying with Claudius Apollinaris, Bishop of Comana, commonly called Hierapolis, in central Asia Minor. Now, of course, Miltiades was dealing not with any theoretical fancy, but with existing facts. Therefore there were Prophets of some sort or other remaining in his own time. These were the "Montanist" Prophets, whom Miltiades and his side—perhaps you would like to call them the Church party—considered to be false Prophets.

M. Excuse me, but I have always understood that the Montanists were the followers of one Montanus, a madman

of Asia Minor, who asserted that he was the Holy Ghost. And also I doubt if you are right in speaking of the "side of Miltiades" and "the Church party."

R. Kindly bear in mind that at this time no one knew which side of the Christian Church was eventually destined to prevail, the "Prophetic" side as they claimed to be, or the more organized or Episcopal side. That there were two sides to the Church is perfectly plain to any one who reads the original sources given in Eusebius (4th century). Eusebius was strongly impressed with the formidable character of the Phrygian heresy so-called, and he spares no epithets of his own to denounce it. It was a work of "the enemy of the Church of God, who is ever the hater of good and the lover of evil, who never loses a single chance of plotting against men." He says the Montanists "crept like venomous serpents against Asia and Phrygia." The Church party of the second century talked of "The outrageous and insolent and seductive spirit" of the Montanist Prophets. "The faithful," says Apollinaris, "held many meetings in many places in Asia upon it." There must therefore have been a severe crisis then in Asia Minor, and a remarkable fact is that the Montanists claimed to have tradition on their side. "Their Apostle (they too claimed to have Apostles) claims that the prophetic gift must continue in all the Church until the final coming." This is what I find in Eusebius (*Church History*, v. 17). There were therefore two sides then, and one was the side of Miltiades, but perhaps you are right in declining to call it "the Church party," since both sides equally claimed to represent the Church.

M. But what have you to say of the madman?

R. My dear friend, you really must not believe all that you read about the character of a party when it is said in the bitterness of controversy by its opponents. As to the sanity of Montanus, I am content to ask of my own

contemporaries, Who is quite sane? I am glad to assume your sanity, Mason, as a working hypothesis; though, if you were a Russian—say one of the characters in current Russian novels—I should hesitate to go far beyond the assumption! But as to the universal practice of party writers, whether orthodox or not, whether religious or political or not, we have overwhelming proof—all history is strewn with it—that you must allow for exaggeration, and you must take the statements with a grain of caution, sometimes even a grain of a sense of humour. In theological controversy, as in a Court of Law, the maxim *Audi alteram partem* holds good. It is possible that Montanus was not perfectly sane, according to your idea of sanity. But it is not possible that he should have had a large and powerful following if he, being a Christian (which no one denies), at the same time claimed to be the *Paraklete*, and if the *Paraklete* is the Holy Ghost. Therefore there is exaggeration here, and it is exaggeration on the part of the orthodox.

M. Which orthodox? the moderns or Eusebius (fourth century), or Apollinaris and Miltiades (second century)?

R. You are quite right to discriminate between the three very different ages. First of all, then, let me say that modern Church historians who say that Montanus claimed to be the *Paraklete* are guilty of some exaggeration, for they go beyond the words of Eusebius which are these (*C.H.* v. 14): "*Certain people boasted that the Paraklete was Montanus, and the women who succeeded him, Priscilla and Maximilla, as having been Montanus' prophetesses.*" This is not the same as if Eusebius had said, "Montanus claimed to be the Holy Ghost"; it is something very different. Next the question arises whether Eusebius exaggerated, and without going so far as to charge him with exaggeration, we may safely say that though deeply read, as Harnack says, he had not the critical faculty of a modern historian but was apt to read his own fourth-century ideas into the

records of the second century. And who among us to-day, without the training of a historian, can venture to say that he can read the records of William the Third's reign without importing into them some of the ideas of Edward the Seventh's? How many of us could read the accounts of what Parliament did in 1798, in 1828, in 1858, and bear in mind the differences of character between the several Parliaments of those years? It is not so easy. Of course we cannot say how much detailed information Eusebius had at his disposal besides the few writings from which he has given us extracts. And therefore we cannot say that he has embroidered his authorities. On the other hand, we may not suppose that he had any trustworthy resources of information outside those authorities, which are as follows: The works of Melito of Sardis, especially "Concerning Prophecy"; the three books of the Anti-Montanist who is doubtless Claudius Apollinaris; the book of Miltiades mentioned already; that of Apollonius; and that of Serapion—this last residing at Antioch in Syria, far away from the centre of Asia Minor. Now we may search the extracts from these writers given by Eusebius, and we shall not find anything to support the statements (1) that Montanus claimed to be the Holy Ghost, nor (2) that the Montanists claimed anything more as a body than to be the successors of the Christian Prophets. We have been led into what seems a digression upon Montanism in connexion with Rules of the Prophets, but it is not really a digression at all; it is simply a progression, a glimpse into the behaviour of the Prophets in the second century. This is an illustration of what Bishop Butler says of "particular persons attending to, comparing and pursuing, intimations scattered up and down, which are overlooked and disregarded by the generality of the world," of "tracing on obscure hints, as it were, dropped us by nature accidentally, or which seem to come into our minds by chance."

M. It is indeed. But I wish you would tell me more about the gift of prophecy in the New Testament. I have always understood that it was an *interim* gift, to be regarded as a thing by itself, as part of the *charismatic* ministry of the Church.

R. My dear fellow, *interim* and *charismatic* are sounding, if not formidable, terms, but they do not assist a historical understanding of the facts. They are quite unhistorical. I have laboured to show you that one thing must be taken with another, as links in a chain, and when possible as cause and effect. Why do you then pick out a link and call it by these names, unless it be that you cannot understand it? Of course you cannot understand it so long as you treat it as a freak of nature, and will not compare it with what precedes and follows it. You note that Bishop Butler, with the eye of a true man of science, says "comparing." Comparison, with its attendant processes, is a note of science. You, on the other hand, begin by assuming that there is no comparison possible. But you are met at the outset by the insuperable difficulty that the Christian *Prophets* bear the same name as the Old Testament Prophets, and claim to be their successors.

M. Where do they claim that?

R. The use of the name is enough to prove that they claimed it, since those who used it knew very well what the old Prophets were. But you could hardly have a clearer proof than 1 Peter i. 10-12, where the Prophets are spoken of as a continuous class inspired by a continuous "spirit of Messiah testifying beforehand and making clear," and also at a later time "seeking out and searching out unto what or what kind of time it pointed." So much for the *interim*. There was no *interim*. Then *charismatic* is a fine mouthful to choke the throat of any plain English reader of the history of the first century. *Charismatic* is a very *interim* term. Its day is past. It was an invention

of a few theologians, and its effect, I must say, is to throw dust in the eyes of those who seek the continuity of history. It is a term drawn in perfect honesty from the *charismata*, or gifts, of the Holy Ghost mentioned in 1 Corinthians, and it explains nothing and assumes nothing except what we find already assumed in the New Testament. But it throws dust in the eyes because it implies an *interim* ministry, which is not fairly called an *interim* ministry, since every ministry must have a connexion with what precedes and what follows it. How else can you maintain the continuity of the Church? What becomes of the One Church if our Church is not the primitive Church, and if the primitive Church is not that of the Psalmist and of the promise to Abraham and his seed? To have three Churches, first the Jewish, and then the Charismatic, and thirdly the early and modern, is rather too much. Better be Vaticanists at once, and put the New Testament on the shelf. *Charismatic* has the effect of throwing the reader off the scent of the Prophets altogether, as if the Charismatic ministry were not the Prophetic ministry, neither more nor less; and as if we were not entitled to follow the chain of prophecy from the Old Testament to the time of Christ, and thence onward to the history of A.D. 70, and even to A.D. 130 or 200. Those who employ the term *charismatic* will certainly admit, if you press them, that the gifts of the Holy Ghost did exist under the Old Testament (Isa. xi. 2), and they will not deny that they are still conveyed by the laying on of hands to-day. Why then single out an *interim* century and mark it as the time of a *charismatic* ministry? The term is misleading.

M. Do you mean then after all intentionally misleading?

R. I will not say so just now. But this I say, that there has been a conspiracy against the Christian Prophets, and I should not be surprised to find one now. Perhaps I

use "conspiracy" in a somewhat legal and unromantic sense, without implying the accessories of disguise, dominoes, darkness and lanterns, but merely the quiet combination of parties against another with a view to his quiet removal. It is all done on the quiet, by some almost unconsciously.

M. Yet I have heard of men legally charged with conspiracy without having dreamed of committing the offence.

R. Tertullian, the Montanist, wrote a large work in six books "Concerning Ecstasy," now lost. I am giving you an instance of what I mean in naming this lost work. Do you think it perished by accident?

M. I really cannot say. Many old books have perished. They all tend that way. But, seriously, you cannot say that the fact of Tertullian's lapse into Montanism caused the destruction of his writings composed after that event, or they would have been reduced by fully half their present number. Why then should it have caused the disappearance of his Montanist work on Ecstasy?

R. Simply because it was an extremely Montanist work, emphasizing precisely (and probably aggravating) the most acute points of difference between him and the orthodox, who were represented by Soter, the Bishop of Rome, and Apollonius of Ephesus, whom I mentioned just now. Jerome (but he was fully 200 years later and we do not know what his knowledge of this point amounted to) tells us that Tertullian devoted a seventh book to the refutation of Apollonius. Most of what we have from his pen is untinted with Montanism; you may read scores of pages together without so much as scenting that association. But when he came to deal with *ecstasy*, which he calls by the common classical Latin word *amentia*, and when he came to defend it at length, you can see what the risk was.

M. What risk?

R. Simply this: an apologist of very great general ability, learning, fervour, and eloquence setting himself

to defend Christianity and absent-mindedness in the same breath! For *amentia* is very nearly *absence of mind*, and that is almost folly. How can serious powers of mind be exerted to defend foolishness? "To the Jews a stumbling-block and to the Greeks foolishness"; yes, to the Greek heathens (1 Cor. i. 23). But when you come to reason with Christians, the same Pauline maxim fails to apply. A layman in theology of those times might be forgiven if he said a writer was mad who used so much sense as Tertullian used on behalf of nonsense. How should he know that Tertullian had invented this technical term *amentia* merely to denote *ecstasy*? But it is purely Tertullian's invention. It is unfortunate. He tried to be literal in his translation of the Greek word *ecstasy*, "standing out of one's common sense." The layman would say "A learned theological book on *Nonsense*! I shall not read it."

M. Then perhaps it killed itself instead of falling a victim to a conspiracy.

R. It may be so, but I must put before you the other possibility—the fear on the part of the Church that if these six books on Ecstasy survived they might set ablaze the smouldering fires. The heat of this telling rhetorician of Africa, added to the warmth of an energetic nonconformist influence of about 200 A.D., might have injured the new and growing organization of the Church, at least in Africa and the west. For Africa was where Montanism then lingered. I grant that its historical interest, which was immense, and ought to have caused the preservation of its records, was unknown in that uncritical age. It claimed to be the most conservative force in the Church. As the Athenians said at Samos towards the end of the Peloponnesian War, "Athens has revolted from us," so the Montanists would have said, "The Church has revolted from us." But there was no one to notice or to care for the peculiar historical interest of Montanism. The records of its peculiari-

ties, which, as regards prophecy and ecstasy, were reduced in Tertullian's time and neighbourhood to casual and local manifestations, would be treated as so much lumber, and the average Church organizer would consign them as such to "the flames or to the Adrian Sea." The average man is sometimes a conspirator without knowing it. He is not an Alexandrine librarian, not an Eusebius of Cæsarea. He asks why he should stuff his limited house-room with reams of paper or parchments that nobody wants to read, with accounts

Of old forgotten far-off things
And battles long ago.

And so, it may be, these six or seven books perished. A conspiracy against the Prophets is a matter of degree, and you shall have more instances another time.

M. You imply that people then were as indifferent to the origins of their own faith as the novel-reading British of to-day?

R. I do, but you may add "churchgoing" to the other epithet. They were very fond of devotional romances as well as other devotional books. The second and third centuries indulged in many of these. Some of them are extant, which we could well spare in return for the lost six or seven books of Tertullian on Ecstasy.

M. Such as——?

K. The *Acts of Peter and Paul*, the *Acts of Philip* and others of the Twelve, the *Acts of Barnabas*, the *Apocalypse of Paul*, the *Original Gospel of James*, and many more. Such is life! Such is history—or, rather, romance! The human mind is strangely built, and the old German rhyme hits off its fondness for a bit of *Aberglaube*—that which Goethe calls the Poetry of Life—mixed up with its general tendency towards the truth:

A Bissl Lieb', und a Bissl Treu, Treu',
Und a Bissl Falschheit, das kommt dabei!

E. C. SELWYN.

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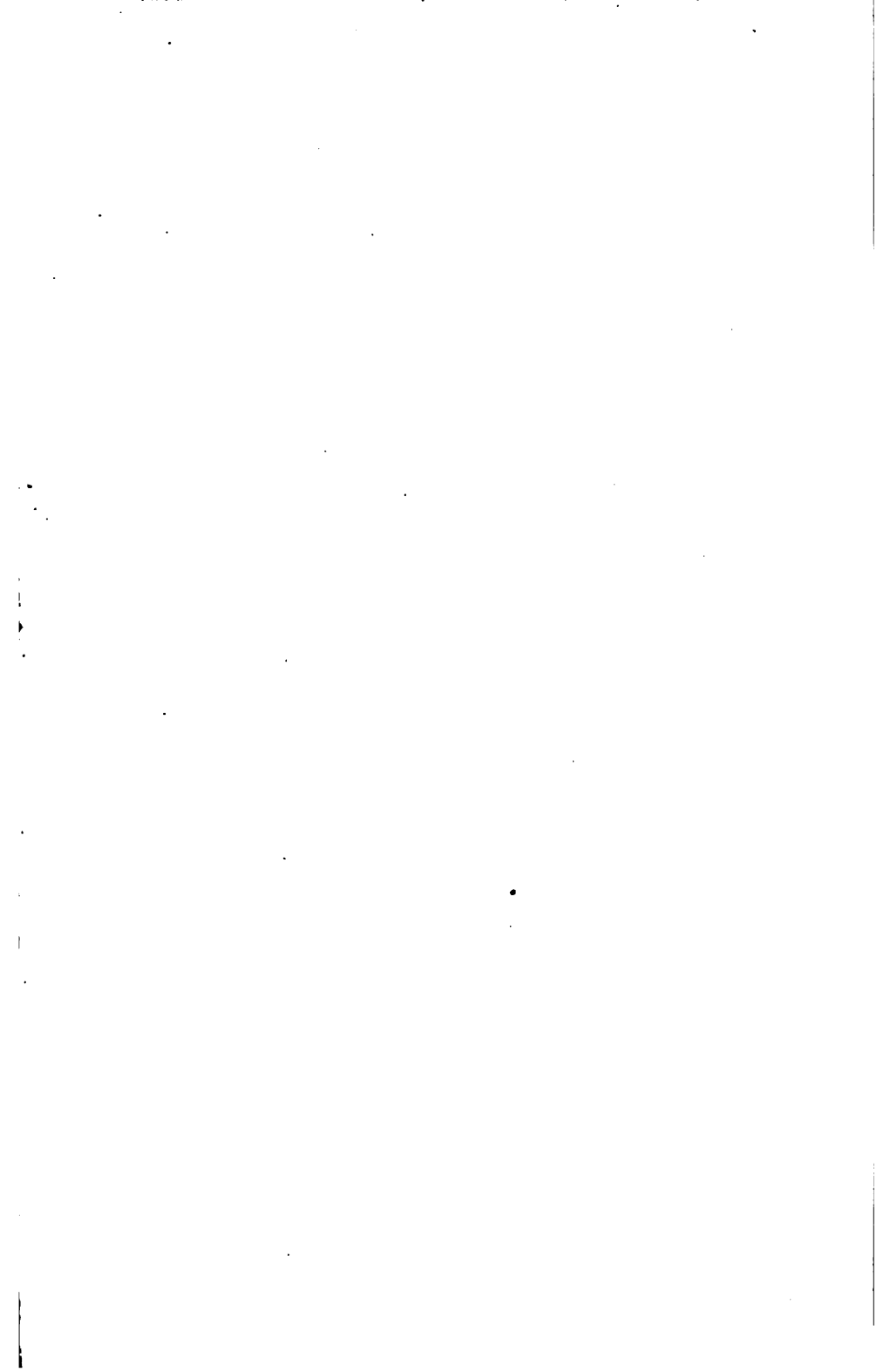
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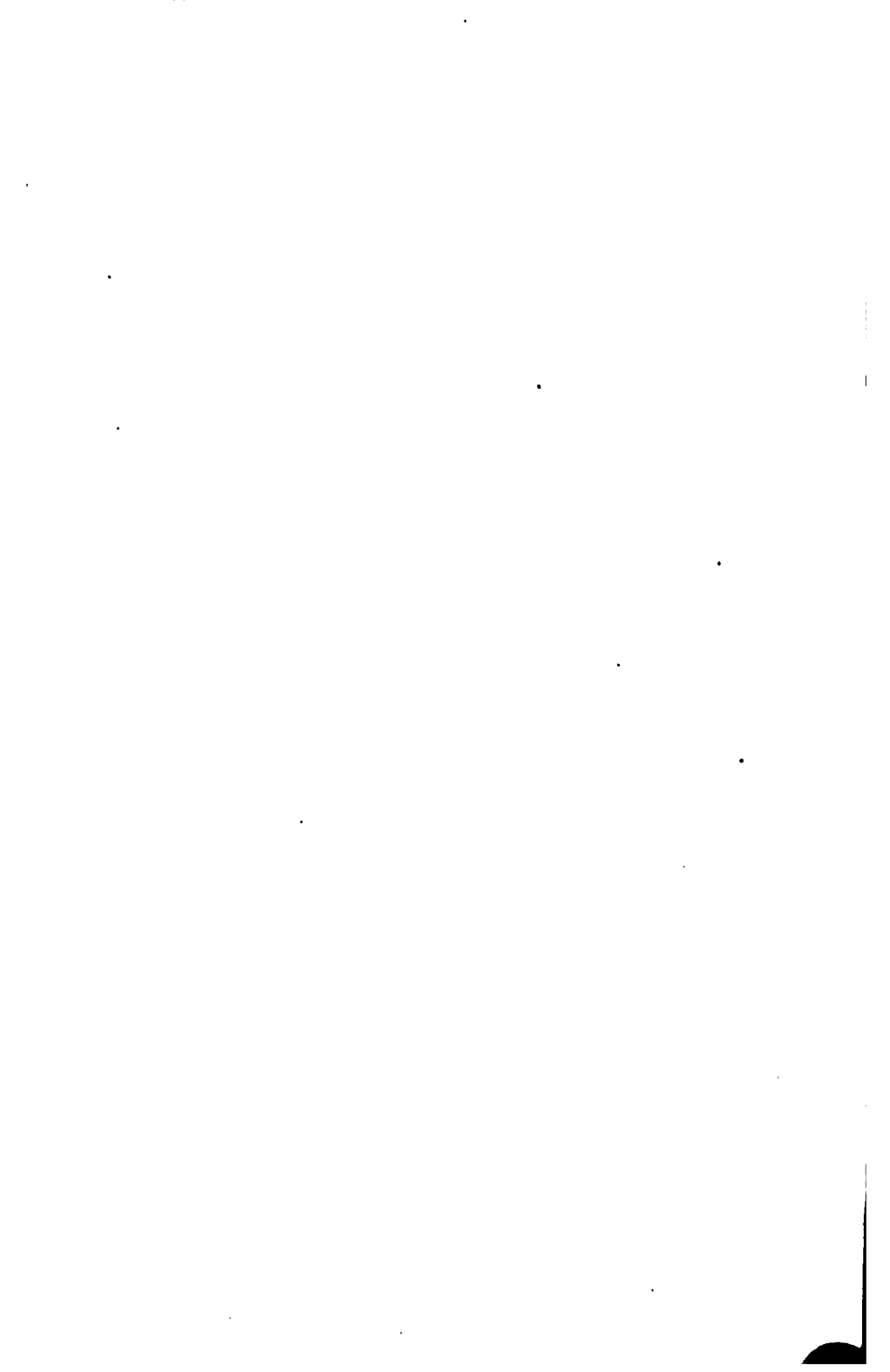
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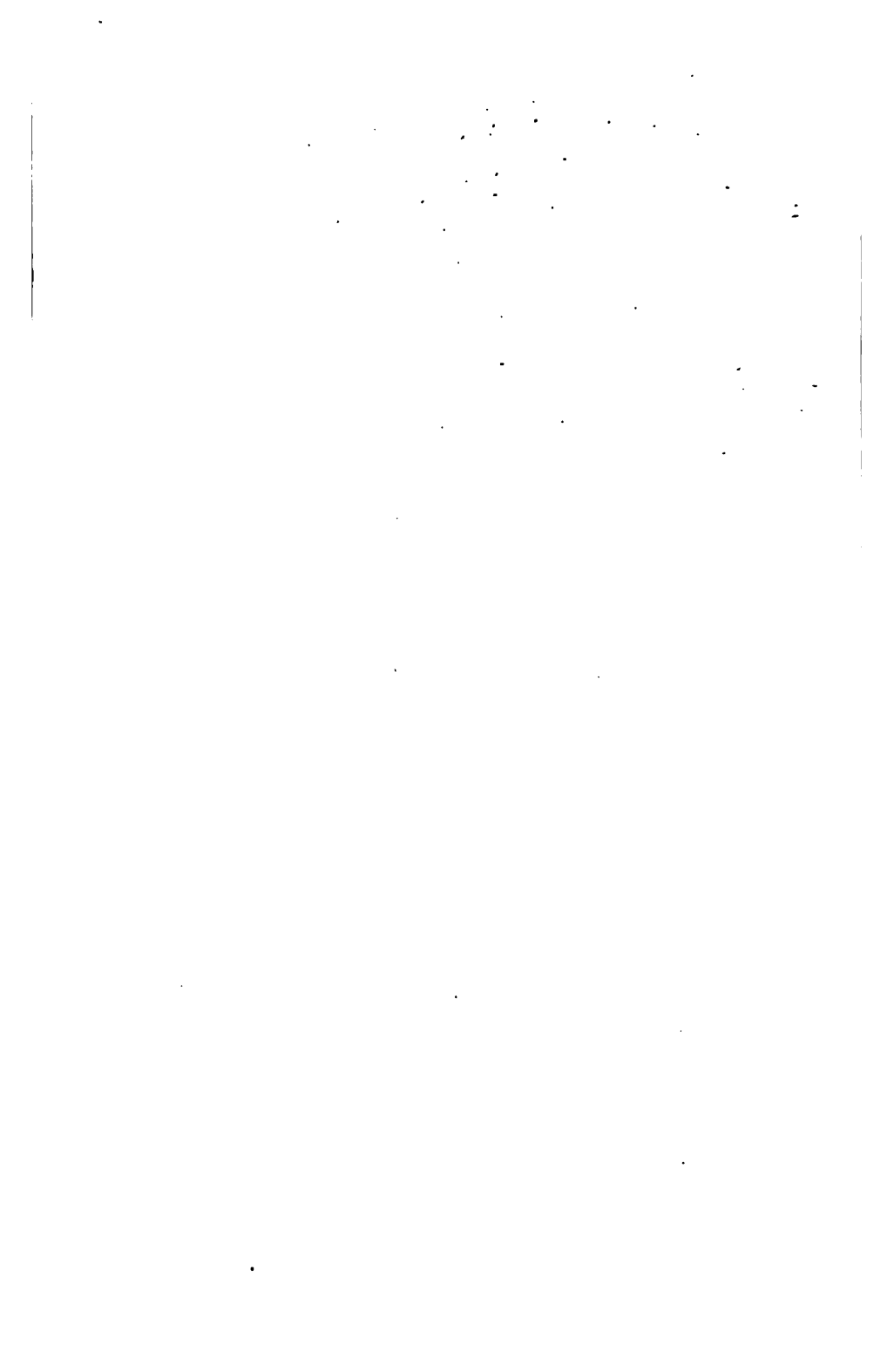
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